The Nation.

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The Week.

Not the least important result of Commodore Dewey's brilliant stroke at Manila is the instant revelation which it forced of Spain's internal weakness and political instability. The necessity of putting Madrid and other points of the country under martial law; the unchained passions and tumult of the Cortes; the rumors of a change of ministry, possibly of a change of dynasty—these are blows to Spain no less crushing in their moral effect than that delivered at the Philippines by our quiet but daring and successful Commodore. The Madrid *Liberal* has already begun to discuss the kind of government necessary for "the Spain of the future, if," it says, "God has decreed that ancient Spain shall fall." It is well if leading minds in Spain are already turning to this problem. "Ancient Spain" has already fallen. The threatened loss of all her colonies is only an outward revelation of the inward decay which had made the fall and the loss inevitable. For some years it has been an open question if Spain has not been more weakened than strengthened by her colonial possessions. The Philippines have been a source of wealth, though not one-tenth what England would have made them produce; but insurrection has been chronic there, and the vast sums spent and stolen of late years in the islands have made the account a losing one for Spain. Cuba is obviously a millstone around her neck; Spaniards have long confessed this privately. Porto Rico has been less troublesome because less important. Spain, if stripped of all these foreign dependencies, might conceivably pull herself together and enter upon a new era of stability and prosperity in the peninsula. Her territory there is a splendid one for a great nation, rich and varied as it is, within its encompassing seas. Her population is hardy and homogeneous, and only needs a good government in order to become wealthy and strong. But the elements of a good and lasting government are precisely the things which, as the *Liberal* confesses, are nowhere visible in Spain to-day.

All the accounts received from Manila agree in representing the Spanish officers and soldiers as brave to the point of rashness and even of desperation. They must have known that they had no chances of success, and very little chance of life, yet they went into the battle without the least sign of flinching. Their ships were a slaughter-pen from the first fire, while ours were exposed to more danger from the heat of the weather than from the shot and shell of the enemy. The only life lost on the American side was from sunstroke. This detracts nothing from the valor of Commodore Dewey and his subordinates, while it adds much to their reputation for prudence and foresight. The art of war consists in doing the greatest possible damage to the enemy with the least possible injury to one's self. Gauged by this rule, Commodore Dewey's feat is almost without parallel. His humanity after the action was equal to his bravery and skill in it. The wounded Spaniards received all the attention that his own men would have had if they had received the same hurts. Now, why should not we extend our sympathies to these brave men, and to those who mourn for them and their dead fellow-heroes across the water?

Spain's unpreparedness for war, because she believed war would not come, was confessed by Minister Moret in his speech in the Cortes last week. Surely never was a nation less ready for the appeal to the sword. With finances toppling, with a government uncertain what a day might bring forth, with an army at home in open discontent and in Cuba depleted by terrible losses, with the fleet poorly equipped and poorly drilled, Spain yet fronted war in the spirit of the sad remark made by a prominent Spanish public man to Benoist, "We do not know how to govern or to organize in peace or war, but we know how to die." The ineffective valor of the Spanish sailors at Manila deserves the plaudits it has received. Caught unprepared in a way that seems to argue almost criminal negligence on the part of the Spanish Admiral—it is asserted that his ships had not even steam up—the men fought with a bravery that nothing but death could quench.

The forecast of a speedy reconstruction of the Spanish cabinet is likely to prove correct. Sagasta's ministry was not considered a strong one, even at the time it was announced. His Minister for Foreign Affairs was not well known; his Minister of Finance did not command the confidence that Gamazo, for example, would have enjoyed. His cabinet was, in fact, distinctly made up for the one great purpose of establishing autonomy in Cuba, and so averting a war with the United States. That aim having failed, it is not strange that the ministry should be counted a failure. Any readjustment that may be made will be only temporary, looking to a strengthening on the military side and to conciliating national sentiment, and intended to last the war through if possible. After that, Spaniards themselves cannot guess what will happen, but appear to be shrugging their shoulders and comforting themselves with their favorite proverb, "To-morrow will be another day."

One of the extraordinary things about the Spanish government of the Philippine Islands has been its strongly marked ecclesiastical character. The prominence of the friars as practically civil governors as well as religious leaders has been remarkable. It has not been altogether pleasant for the friars. They have been the object of the intensest hatred by the natives, and have been the first ones to be killed in insurrections. Missionaries in other lands have often suffered from the violence of natives, but never elsewhere, we believe, has there been such marked and inveterate hostility against Christian teachers in a pagan land as in the Philippines. This has sprung, of course, from the identification of the religious with the civil government in the minds of the natives. Even at Madrid, in the office of the Minister for the Colonies, the most powerful personages in waiting are ecclesiastics. M. Charles Benoist describes the way in which one desiring to get a hearing from the Minister had to run the gauntlet of rows of bishops and cardinals and friars.

We have been imitating, as closely as possible, the old Spanish methods in filling our embassies and consulates. We are now, perhaps, at last, on the eve of having colonies, a consummation for which our politicians have been longing for many a day. We have formed no plan for their government. There is no sign that we know of that any public man has ever bestowed a thought on the subject. In the midst of war it would be difficult to get the problem even discussed. But the crisis is nearly upon us. We shall probably be fitted out with a full line of colonies before the summer is over. Well, how are they to be governed? We have not a particle of doubt that most of our politicians look forward to governing them in the old way, through the Quays, through the Forakers, through the Gallingers, through the Lodges, through the Masons, and so on. We shall enter on our colonial career with a fine stock of corrupt practices, already got up for home use. If we go any further in that direction in our new career, we cannot do better than send over a congressional commission to find out how the Spanish politicians "made their pile" when they were let loose on the South Americans, on the Cubans, and on the Philippines, or whatever they are called. If so, Quay ought

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to be the first Governor of the Philippines, and Lodge ought to show the Cubans how to "run the machine." This will give us a glorious colonial, but thoroughly Spanish, future.

Coincidently with the determination, now announced at Washington, to land 60,000 men of all arms in Cuba as soon as may be, comes news from the island which shows why such a decision was necessary. The insurgents are found to be more of the nature of men in buckram than was dreamed of at Washington. Gomez is in immediate command of less than 200 men, and has not more than 3,500 within call. But if they were all brought together in one army, it would simply starve before it could ever come to close quarters with the enemy. The only chance of the insurgents is to maintain themselves in widely scattered bands of small numbers. They could not feed an army of 3,000 men for a single day. This Gomez himself admits. What he asks of the United States is more arms, and, above all, rations. Without food and a commissariat, the arms might as well not be sent. The old General says that if we will arm him and feed him and give him time—a good deal of the latter—he will yet drive the Spanish into the sea. He wishes to do this with his own right arm, being distinctly cool over the proposal to aid him with United States troops. Gomez has a natural ambition to remain in chief command, with an eye both to his fame and the good things that may come after the war. So he sends word to Washington not to expose precious American lives to the deadly Cuban climate, but to supply him with all he needs and wait a year or so to see him finish the business.

But the President's military advisers have apparently concluded that this is nonsense. It is our war, and we must depend upon ourselves to conduct it. So the first plan of landing a small expedition, to seize and hold a base, and to get into touch with the insurgents, while rushing in supplies to the reconcentrados, has been abandoned. It was humanitarian, but it was not war. It bordered on the ridiculous, moreover, to be starving with one hand, through the blockade, and feeding with the other, by sending in provisions which the Spaniards were almost certain to capture. So now, we are told, there is to be aggressive military action, on a large scale, with the aim of promptly expelling the Spaniards from Cuba. Gomez's picture of the American army destroyed by yellow fever is held to be exaggerated. Competent army surgeons say that sanitary conditions in camp will reduce this danger to a minimum, which is probably true. But, at any rate, the insurgents are to be practically ignored, and we are to send men enough to do the work in hand. This is an awful blow to Gomez, the Cuban republic and Cuban bondholders.

There is little fault to be found with the President's selections for the volunteer generalships, announced last week, particularly in view of the tremendous pressure exerted upon him by politicians and the Governors of many States to appoint place-hunters, well brought out by Gen. Miles's remarkable telegram to Col. John S. Mosby: "I should be glad to have your services, but think it will require some influence. Suggest that you communicate with your Senator." It will be particularly pleasing to the army to realize that, with the exception of four major-generalships, all the coveted appointments have gone to regular officers, who have earned them, as everybody must admit, by years of faithful, arduous, and unappreciated service in barrack, camp, and field, and in many a hard-fought Indian battle. Even the civilian appointees have excellent war-time records to justify choice of them. There is general satisfaction with the course of the President in dividing his four appointments as major-general equally between men who served with distinction in the Union and in the Confederate armies during the civil war. It was not until the 31st of March, 1896, that the way was opened for President McKinley legally to nominate Fitzhugh Lee and Joseph Wheeler as major-generals in the army.

That war upsets all existing conditions, even about matters outside its sphere, is illustrated by the new developments regarding the annexation of Hawaii. This proposition was fully discussed in time of peace, and was practically defeated. The scheme of carrying it by treaty was abandoned because a two-thirds vote could not be secured in the Senate, and everything indicated that a joint resolution could not command a majority in the House. In short, annexation was beaten a month ago. But all authorities at Washington now say that it is likely to carry within a very short time. The only reason assigned for the change is that the war with Spain over Cuba makes it necessary for us to acquire these islands in the Pacific in order to have a coaling station and base of supplies. This is absurd, for in the first place we already have the right to establish a coaling station at Pearl Harbor, and, in the second place, there are no Spanish vessels left anywhere in the Pacific Ocean to worry about. The truth about the matter is very well put by the Philadelphia *Ledger* when it says that to annex Hawaii under the present circumstances "would be a plain notice to the Powers that we have branched off into the policy of colonization, which has been religiously abstained from heretofore, and which is so contrary to the teachings, and heedless of the warnings, of the fathers of the country"; and that it would be "followed logically by the retention of Cuba, the Philippines, and Porto Rico, and the quartering upon the public Treasury of a huge military establishment in times of peace."

The question of an income tax came up in the Senate on Wednesday week in an unexpected way. There was pending a proposed amendment to the Constitution to provide for a vacancy in the office of President in case the person elected to that office should die before his inauguration. This is a contingency not hitherto provided for. The proposed amendment makes the Vice-President-elect the successor in that case, and provides that in case of the death of both President and Vice-President-elect before inauguration Congress may provide for filling the vacancy. When the amendment came up for consideration, Senator Mills offered a further amendment, providing that direct taxes need not be levied in proportion to the respective numbers of the inhabitants of the States, but may be assessed in the same manner as other taxes, duties, imposts, and excises. This means that an income tax may be levied by Congress in proportion to income, not in proportion to population. Mr. Hoar raised the objection that it was not germane to the subject before the Senate, and that it was calculated, if fastened as a rider on the pending amendment, to endanger the latter, and, indeed, to endanger both. He considered it a great subject, one engaging the thoughts of many of the most intelligent citizens of the country, and too important to be yoked with matter of an entirely different kind. In order that it might be taken up by itself and considered on its merits, he moved to lay Mr. Mills's amendment on the table. At the end of a half hour's debate this motion prevailed by a vote of 32 to 29. The vote was on party lines, except that Senator Caffrey voted in the affirmative.

It was evident from the course of the debate that some Republicans would have supported a resolution for an income-tax amendment to the Constitution if it had been offered by itself. Mr. Hoar did not say whether he would have done so or not, but he said he should be glad to have it brought before the Senate in a proper manner. Why Mr. Mills should have declined the request made to him by Mr. Hoar, and repeated by Mr. Chandler, to let the Senate vote upon it as a separate proposition, is not explainable on any other ground than that of politics. What the Democrats want to obtain is not so much an income tax as a public record that they favor it and

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that the Republicans oppose it. If Mr. Mills had adopted the simple and rational advice tendered to him, to offer his amendment separately, it is not at all unlikely that it would have received a sufficient number of Republican votes to give it the requisite two-thirds majority, in which case it would probably pass the House also, as a war measure. But in that case it would no longer be an issue in national politics. It would go to the State Legislatures for ratification, and would cease to be available on the stump for the time being. It might give us a constitutional income tax, but that is only a secondary matter.

Some months ago it was rumored that the McKinley Administration was contemplating the removal of the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics, in order to make way for a political favorite. This report called forth immediately such a storm of protest, in letters from the highest authorities in private life on questions of statistics, that the scheme was temporarily abandoned. There was sufficient reason for the protest. Mr. Worthington C. Ford, who succeeded to the office in 1893, found the bureau in something like a state of chaos. It is this bureau which collects, compiles, and prepares for publication those exceedingly important returns of the country's commerce, industry, and finance on which the future plans of merchants and financiers are based. The vital necessity for thorough and accurate work on such statistics is obvious, and thorough and accurate work can be done only by a trained statistician. The work of Mr. Ford was remarkably successful; the Government's statistics, previously regarded with much suspicion, became a recognized authority, and its publications rose at once to the rank of the publications of the British Board of Trade. Thoroughly impartial in his investigations, as becomes an expert statistician, Mr. Ford's assistance was invoked by Democratic and Republican Congresses alike, by the committee on the Wilson bill and the committee on the Dingley bill. The reputation of his work, meantime, had extended even to European circles, to the credit of our Government. Mr. Ford is now at last summarily removed, by a crafty violation of the civil-service law under whose shelter his office was long ago, and very properly, placed. Our readers will no doubt suppose that a Republican statistician of high repute is named as his successor. The country and its records will enjoy no such fortune. An obscure Washington newspaper correspondent, who has for some years shifted about from the employ of one paper to that of another, who is not known to possess the slightest knowledge of his future work, is the happy man. To any who desire to know the reason for this grotesque appointment, it may be explained that Mr. Austin compiled for the benefit of Mr. Hanna the protection "dodgers" sent out to voters by the Republican national committee in the campaign of 1896.

A report comes from Pittsburgh that Matt Quay and Chris Magee "have reached a definite understanding on the gubernatorial situation, which will go far toward controlling Pennsylvania politics during the next five years." The Philadelphia *Ledger*, which presents the report upon the authority of a Republican contemporary, does not vouch for its accuracy, but says that all the political conditions seem to establish its correctness. The revolt against Quay is serious enough to render it prudent for him to make alliances with party leaders, like Magee, who have been hostile to him. Moreover, so long ago as January, 1896, the boss proposed a compact with the Republican managers in Pittsburgh, the text of which became public and is now revived by Mr. Wanamaker. It was the most extraordinary proposition ever put down in black and white, among the conditions being that until 1900 "Mr. Quay is to have the absolute support of Allegheny County in State and national politics, and is to sustain through his friends all regular Republican nominees and the straight Republican organization"; that, if he shall be a candidate for Senator in 1899, he shall "have the united support of the Senators and members of the Legislature from Allegheny County"; that "in every other case his leadership is to be followed by united support in the Legislature and in national and State conventions, except where a bona-fide candidate appears in Allegheny County"; that State senatorships and other positions shall be apportioned according to a plan fully set forth; that the Republican candidate for Congress in the Pittsburgh district shall be named by the Magee element, without opposition from the other faction; and that "no legislation is to be had at Harrisburg the enactment of which will be to injure the character and business interests of the Pittsburgh parties hereto."

The only reason why the compact was not signed and sealed was that the parties could not finally agree upon the division of the plunder. The draft of a proposed agreement from which we have quoted was made in Pittsburgh, and the *Ledger* says that, "stringent as were the provisions of this proposition to make Quay the dominant power in the government and politics of Pennsylvania, it failed of realization because of his contention that it was not sufficiently stringent." Under the present conditions Quay may be willing to grant larger concessions to Magee, and Magee will doubtless be as ready now as then to make an alliance if he can get the terms he wants. The proposed agreement of two years ago was published in March, 1896, and Mr. Wanamaker says that "of all the papers in Pennsylvania that published this story of treachery, but one to my knowledge commented upon it adversely"—this exception being the Philadelphia *Ledger*. The *Ledger* is equally ready to denounce such bargain and sale now. It remains to be seen whether the party organs will be as silent in 1898 as in 1896.

The correspondence relating to Chinese affairs was laid before Parliament on April 23, and is confessed by the strongest supporters of the Government to be "not pleasant reading." It shows the most childlike and bland innocence on the part of Lord Salisbury in accepting every successive "assurance" of the Russian Government, and discovers Count Muravieff proceeding from one degree of cynical contempt for Great Britain to another. The chief interest of the papers relates, of course, to the terms on which Russia was to hold Port Arthur and Talienwan, and a little diary marking the steps by which the Russian Foreign Minister advanced to his object is instructive. The leading dates, with the "assurances" given Salisbury on each, are as follows:

December 23—Occupation of Port Arthur only temporary.
January 12—Above promise repeated.
January 19—No designs on Chinese territory.
January 27—Any ports acquired to be open.
February 9—No *written* assurances had been given.
March 9—Talienwan to be open. Port Arthur not to be fortified.
March 13—Port Arthur would be fortified, and not open.
March 16—"Formal assurance" that both ports would be open.
March 28—Only Talienwan to be open.
March 30—Adhered to earlier assurances.
April 3—Port Arthur not open. No *assurances* had been given.

Some of Count Muravieff's explanations of his backing and filling are delightful in their impudence. Salisbury had declared in the Lords that he had "written assurances" from Russia that both ports would be open. But the Russian Minister at once reminded him that the assurances were not written, and that whatever was written was not an assurance. He plaintively observed that "the ideas which I may have expressed very confidentially . . . ought never to have been interpreted as 'assurances.' It was evidently impossible for me to make the slightest engagement on this subject before the conclusion of the arrangements." One of his finest strokes was the remark that "respect for the sovereign rights of China" forbade any alteration in the status of Port Arthur—except handing it over to Russia! There may have been no assurances, but there was plenty of assurance. No wonder Salisbury flung over the whole negotiation in disgust, and seized Wei-hai-Wei so as to have something to show Parliament after having been so overreached.

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DEMOCRATIC WAR MEASURES.

The Democrats in Congress, with a few honorable exceptions, insist that the war expenses shall be paid by the issue of new legal-tender notes and by "coining the seigniorage." These two things, although passing by different names, mean the same thing. Both of them provide for the issue of Government paper to pass into general circulation—paper which must be redeemed in gold at the demand of the holder. What the advocates of this plan really desire is that the paper so put out shall not be redeemed at all. It is not silver redemption that they want. They know that the Government has no silver dollars to redeem such notes with. Moreover, Mr. Bland said in his speech, when he proposed the greenback amendment to the revenue bill, that the word "coin" as now interpreted meant gold coin or its equivalent, and for that reason he and his friends were utterly opposed to the issue of bonds payable in coin. The conclusion is inevitable that they want to have so much Government paper put out that it cannot be redeemed at all. This is their unavowed programme for carrying on the war.

Their avowed purpose was set forth by Mr. Bailey of Texas in his speech in opposition to the bill on the 27th of April. He said, first, in reference to the proposed new taxes, that he would vote for them if the Republicans would add an income tax. Then, if money were wanted for immediate necessities, before the new taxes could be made productive, he said:

> "We have an asset in the Treasury of more than $42,000,000, which we will place at your disposal. We will not only direct the Secretary of the Treasury to coin the seigniorage into silver dollars, but we will authorize him to anticipate that coinage by issuing silver certificates to defray the expenses as they are incurred. If that is not sufficient—and according to your estimate it will not be—we will go further, and we will authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to provide the balance of the $100,000,000 which you say is immediately necessary by issuing $58,000,000 of United States legal-tender notes. There is no man who doubts that this government can with perfect safety extend its circulation $58,000,000. I am as far from believing in fiatism as anybody in this House; I have never subscribed to the doctrine that Congress can make something out of nothing; but I know that this government, in a time like this, can easily and safely increase its demand notes $58,000,000, and there is not a gentleman on the other side who would be willing to assert the contrary."

Such assertions are liable to gain currency and credit by force of impudence, and for this reason they need to be met at the very outset. It is rather late in the history of nations, and of our own nation in particular, to propose fresh issues of Government paper as an instrumentality of war; but when party leaders solemnly advocate that policy, not as a matter of necessity, but as a matter of choice and preference, they must be met and answered. Thirty-six years ago two Congresses were in session, one in Washington and one in Richmond, considering the question how to obtain means for carrying on war. Both of them, with extreme reluctance and under the plea of necessity, decided to issue Government notes for this purpose. The Washington Government notes were legal tender; those of the Richmond Government were not legal tender, but they entered into circulation, and since public opinion required that they should be accepted in trade, they were practically legal tender. Both began to depreciate as soon as issued. All creditors were required to take them at par. Consequently all such persons were defrauded of a part of their just dues. The loss fell most heavily on the soldiers themselves, whose pay, very small at best, was given to them in a currency of less value than the two governments had agreed to pay them. Prices of commodities rose. The two governments were obliged to pay higher and higher rates for arms, ammunition, food, clothing, horses, wagons, forage, ships; indeed, everything except wages. The cost of the war on the Union side was demonstrably increased more than $800,000,000 by this means. It would have been increased still more in the Confederacy had not the whole debt, both bonds and Treasury notes, been wiped out by the destruction of that government.

One would suppose that an experience of this kind, taking place within the memory of men still living, would suffice to condemn that method of providing means to carry on war. But Mr. Bailey says that he is not a believer in fiatism. He means that the country is capable of absorbing $100,000,000 more of fiat money without danger of being called on to redeem it. In other words, he realizes and admits that a greenback is not money, but a promise to pay money—that the note put out to-day may be presented for redemption to-morrow, and that if not redeemed the holder is a loser, the Government's credit is impaired, prices of commodities begin to rise, and that we begin to travel the road which both the Union and the Confederacy began to travel in 1862. His expectation, however, is that none of those notes would be presented for redemption. That is what his scheme of finance rests on—the belief that the public will accept this new paper in addition to what they now hold, and not ask the Government to redeem any of it. What would happen if they should take a different view he does not say. He asks us to entertain full confidence that he is right. As no responsibility rests on him in the premises, he can safely and cheaply do so. But his opponents are carrying on a war which he is only looking at. They are charged with the task of keeping the public credit good as well as putting down the enemy. Indeed, their ability to do the latter depends upon their success in the former rôle. There can be no war without the sinews of war. Under Bailey's cool and irresponsible way of looking at things, the holders of the Government's demand notes might begin to present them for redemption at any time; Congress might not then be in session, or, if in session, might not consider redemption advisable or necessary; the Treasury might suspend specie payments, and the road of 1862-'65 might be travelled over again. We have not the smallest doubt that the issuing of new demand notes at this time would precipitate a run on the Government for gold and would lead to an early suspension. We have no doubt that this is what Bailey and his party friends desire and intend, and that this is what they hope to bring to pass in one way or another.

THE SCARCITY OF WHEAT.

Rise in the price of grain, on the outbreak of a war, is one of the most familiar phenomena of trade; therefore, few people were surprised when the wheat market began to advance with some violence last month, immediately before and after our rupture with the Spanish Government. What did, however, surprise many people who had not kept close track of the world's current grain statistics, was the failure of the market to decline again after Commodore Dewey's victory, when sentiment rather generally rushed to the conclusion that the Spanish war would certainly be short.

Not only would such reaction have been natural, if the advance had been occasioned wholly by the war, but it had already penetrated the minds of most people that in this war the influences which sometimes make wheat dear in such a contest could not operate. Grain may advance, on the outbreak of a war, through belief in a possible blockade of grain-producing states, or misgiving that their grain-carrying ships may be plundered by the enemy. Such expectation would, of course, lead foreign importers to increase their orders for quick delivery of wheat, and thus advance the price. But the notion of a blockade of the United States coast by Spain was immediately seen to be absurd. Moreover, our grain is sent to Europe in neutral bottoms, and is, consequently, exempt from capture. It might, therefore, have been imagined that if the "war argument" alone were forcing up the price of wheat, a little reasonable afterthought would start the market moving in the opposite direction.

Nothing of the sort happened. Taking as a measure the cash price of wheat for immediate delivery at New York, we shall find that it actually fell nearly five cents a bushel between the day of the *Maine* explosion and the close of March, that it rose 13 cents before the outbreak of hostilities, advanced some 8 cents further between the departure of our Atlantic fleet and the victory at Ma-

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nila, and then, instead of yielding after the Spanish overthrow in the Philippines, started last week on a fresh and exceedingly violent advance, which brought the price by Tuesday of this week from the $1.26½ per bushel of April 30 to the extraordinary figure of $1.93.

On the market for wheat contracts deliverable in May, the advance was equally violent, and the price has touched $1.90 in Chicago, the highest record since a speculative "corner" brought it to two dollars in September, 1888, and with that exception the highest since 1877, before the resumption of specie payments. That our non-commercial readers may not suppose this recent extraordinary movement to be a matter outside their own concern, it may be worth while to add that, in consequence of the steady rise in wheat, flour is selling this week on the wholesale markets two dollars and a half a barrel above the price of a month ago, and three dollars and a half above its price a year ago this month. That they may not suppose the movement to be a matter of concern to the United States alone, attention may be further called to the fact that recent mob uprisings in the peninsula, which may play an important part in the Spanish-American controversy, partake quite as much of the nature of "bread riots" as of a popular revolt against an unsuccessful war ministry.

The undoubted truth of the matter is, that the so-called "war scare" in the wheat market has played this season an infinitely less important part than the extraordinary situation of the world's grain-producers. The deficient foreign harvests of 1896, followed by the partial or complete crop failures of last year in France, Austria, India, Argentina, and Australasia, left the consuming world necessarily with a very small margin of supplies in storehouse wherewith to tide over the interval until another harvest. The world's total wheat crop of 1897, as estimated by commercial experts, fell short more than a hundred million bushels of providing enough of new supplies to meet the average annual needs of wheat-consumers. The inevitable result was that the so-called "visible supply" in home and foreign granaries was drawn down to the smallest volume in a generation.

The price advanced to a higher steady level, and the advance drew into market a good part of those secondary supplies known to the wheat market as the "farm reserves." In particular, demand increased abnormally for export wheat from the United States, which had the extraordinary fortune, last year, of raising one of the largest wheat crops in its history, in the face of the extreme European scarcity. Usually, our export of grain slackens in the spring. But during April our wheat exports rose to a magnitude quite unexampled for the season. The weekly estimated shipments from this country last month were double or treble the average shipments of the same weeks during the past dozen years; week before last, for instance, the estimate was 4,160,000 bushels, against only 1,155,886 in the closing week of April, 1897, and 2,773,000 even in 1894. In March the country shipped abroad, by the returns of the Bureau of Statistics, very nearly twice as many bushels, in wheat and flour, as it sent out in the same month of 1897. The question began to be asked, with some uneasiness, how long even the heavy surplus left over from last year's wheat crop in the United States could continue to supply the needs of Europe. The Indian and South American crop, which is harvested between November and April, has this year again turned out disappointing. Our own winter-sown wheat and the crop of Southern Europe do not move until June, and meantime, on top of the almost or quite unprecedented volume of wheat exports from this country thus far in the season, the American visible supply has within a fortnight been shrinking at the rate of more than three million bushels weekly. Under the circumstances, it is not surprising that the mere suggestion, however illogical, of a war blockade of American supplies, should have started an advance in wheat prices which gathered force as it continued, and which was not checked even when the "war scare" itself was dissipated.

We shall not undertake any prediction as to the probable course of wheat prices during this extremely interesting interval before the new crop of 1898 is harvested. To judge such probabilities with any accuracy the exact size of last year's American harvest must be known, and, unfortunately, all the estimates in that regard are more or less discredited. The forecasts of our growing crops, on the other hand, are a matter of unusual interest. That a very much larger acreage should have been planted by our wheat-farmers—14 per cent. increase is estimated—is certainly not surprising, in view of the high level of prices now so long maintained by the wheat markets. It is gratifying on all accounts to observe also, from current commercial estimates, that the promise of the American crop is at the moment decidedly better even than it was at this time a year ago. While it is highly improbable that any such shortage of new supplies could exist as that of 1897, it is at the same time pretty certain that the demand from European wheat-importers will continue very heavy. The London *Mark Lane Express*, a recognized authority in the grain trade, lately published a summary of the world's crop as ascertained for 1897 and estimated for 1898. There is room for wide misjudgment in such estimate; but, taking it as it stands, our authority reckons that while the world's crop of 1897 fell short some 132,000,000 bushels of actual consumers' wants, the crop of 1898, at the present outlook, will exceed such annual needs by only 68,000,000 bushels. In other words, the normal excess supply in storehouse would not, on this reckoning, be restored, even at the close of 1898.

PRIVATE PROPERTY IN WAR.

Lord Russell, in his address before the American Bar Association in 1896, paid our statesmen and jurists a high but not undeserved compliment when he declared that it was largely due to their policy and moral influence that the horrors of war had been mitigated and the area of its consequential evils narrowed. We were so fortunate as to have in Europe as diplomatic agents, when our first treaties were negotiated, some of the most liberal-minded men that this country had then or has since produced. It is to them—notably to Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson—that we owe the incorporation into our early treaties of certain principles which, as Washington justly said, marked a new era in negotiation. Pointing out the harmonizing influences which had been in operation in the field of international law for centuries, they insisted that this law should go on improving.

The maxim mentioned in the treaty of Utrecht of 1713—that free ships make free goods—which during our Revolution was supported by force of arms on the part of Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland, found in them hearty advocates, and Franklin's prediction that it would become the law of nations was practically realized in 1856, in the well-known Declaration of Paris. Not stopping with this, they urged that in time of war merchant vessels of the enemy, exchanging the necessaries and conveniences of life, should not be disturbed, and that even contraband of war, when taken, should be paid for. We have already shown that they included in the treaty of 1785 with Prussia the proposition that private property should be exempt from capture in case of war between the two Powers. This rule, though not meeting with a favorable reception in every quarter, and having now, perhaps, but a small prospect of general acceptance, was qualifiedly observed by Austria in 1866, and absolutely by Prussia in her war of 1870; and when it was agreed to in our treaty of 1871 with Italy, President Grant informed Congress with undisguised pleasure that it was one which the United States had spared no opportunity of incorporating into the obligations of nations.

Unfortunately, we have no such compact with Spain, and as the State Department cannot control the adjudications of prize courts, this noble principle, which should be considered unalterable and not dependent upon any momentary

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interests, will doubtless be held as naught during the present war.

As to contraband of war, it may be said that the rule of nations should never be altered so as to allow its introduction into hostile ports. By excluding such aid the enemy is sooner reduced. By allowing it the neutral, as Mr. Manning well says, would have the power to injure a belligerent which he would not possess if he were an enemy. But is there any necessity for the confiscation of such goods? Franklin thought there was none, and he and his associates in the treaty with Prussia made an agreement on the subject which has been regarded as among the curiosities of diplomatic negotiation. By its provisions military stores and other contraband of war were not to be confiscated and condemned, but the vessels and articles might be stopped, the captor paying a reasonable compensation for the loss which the owners might thereby suffer. Or if the captor chose to do so, he could use the stores so retained, paying the owners their full valuation at the place of their destination. On the other hand, the master of the detained vessel was allowed by this treaty to proceed on his voyage if he would deliver over to the captor whatever articles were supposed to be of contraband nature. Klüber contends that this provision is really a part of the international code of Europe, but it would seem that the authorities are clearly against him.

This liberal article in our first treaty with Prussia has been adhered to in all subsequent agreements with that government, and is operative between the two countries to-day. It does not seem to be such a startling innovation when it is remembered that the ancient law of Europe, which made the ship itself liable to confiscation for carrying contraband, had already in Franklin's time been relaxed. In the treaty between England and France at Utrecht in 1713 not only was the vessel saved from confiscation, but the doctrine that the rest of the cargo was *infected* by the prohibited goods was abandoned. Of course, in the absence of treaty stipulations, the law undoubtedly is that the owner of the contraband loses also whatever interest he may have in the rest of the cargo or in the ship. In the treaty of 1778 with France, negotiated by Franklin, Deane, and Lee, this penalty, however, as was to have been expected, was expressly denounced, and it was further agreed that if the commander of the ship would deliver up the contraband goods, the captor should immediately discharge the ship and allow her to prosecute the voyage. In case all the contraband merchandise could not be received on board the vessel of the captor, he was allowed to carry the ship into the nearest port for adjudication. The manner of ascertaining the presence of contraband was by means of the exhibition of certificates. The breaking up of hatches and opening of chests and casks were forbidden. John Adams made a similar treaty with the Netherlands in 1782, and Franklin with Sweden in 1783. This provision was retained in our treaty of 1816 with Sweden-Norway.

So far as the countries of this hemisphere are concerned, the rule seems to be that all merchandise not included in the articles of contraband, which are always explicitly enumerated in the treaties between the United States and the other American governments, may be freely carried to belligerent ports, except those besieged or blockaded, and that in no case is a vessel of any of these nations allowed to be detained on the high seas on account of having on board articles of contraband, whenever its captain will deliver up such articles to the captor, unless, indeed, their quantity be so great or of so large a bulk that they cannot be received on board without great inconvenience, in which case the vessel may be sent to the nearest port for trial. We have treaties containing this provision with Bolivia, Brazil, Central America, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Hayti, Mexico, Peru, San Salvador, and Venezuela. They are founded, as will be seen, on one of the clauses of the Prussian treaty, advocated by Franklin and Jefferson, and are intended to encourage the greatest possible freedom of commerce in time of war.

PERIL TO FOREST RESERVES.

It will be an unspeakable pity if, under the overshadowing influence of the war, Congress shall consent to abolish the new forest reserves created by proclamation of President Cleveland on February 22, 1897, yet this is likely to happen unless vigorous protest is made at once.

These reserves, it will be remembered, were designated in accordance with the recommendation of the Forest Commission of 1896, appointed at the request of the Secretary of the Interior by the National Academy of Sciences, and consisting of Prof. Charles S. Sargent, chairman; Prof. Wolcott Gibbs, ex officio; Alexander Agassiz, Prof. W. H. Brewer, Gen. Henry L. Abbott, U. S. A. (retired); Arnold Hague of the Geological Survey, and Gifford Pinchot, practical forester. An appropriation of $25,000 was made by Congress for the travelling expenses of this commission in its study of forest problems, but the members served without salary, and a more competent and disinterested body it would be hard to find. The commission made an extensive and thorough inquiry, including a personal investigation of most of the territory involved, and promptly embodied its conclusions in a report which is a model public document, and of which the recommendation of the reserves was but a prominent incident, a first suggestion in the line of a large, conservative policy towards our disappearing forests. Congress is now asked to throw away all this money, time, and effort, and again to face about towards chaos.

In proclaiming these reserves President Cleveland simply carried forward the policy adopted by President Harrison. He added thirteen new reservations to the seventeen previously existing, raising the gross area from about 20,000,000 to 40,000,000 acres. Sixteen of the thirty reservations, embracing about 13,000,000 acres, were made by President Harrison; but the largest single one—the Cascade Range reserve—was made by President Cleveland early in his last term. The tracts embraced in his final proclamation were all on mountains except those in the extreme northern part of the West and those in a belt near the Pacific. Their uses would be of the utmost importance. In the interior reservations there is almost always a forest on a mountain and an agricultural region in the near foot-hills needing irrigation. This irrigation the mountain forests will give, and experience has shown that the water supply would be diminished 40 per cent. were the forests cut away. The forests on the reservations will not, as a rule, grow again when destroyed, and the Forest Commission has long been at work devising a careful plan for their preservation.

The purpose of the reservation system, be it remembered, is not to withdraw the reserved lands absolutely from occupation or use, but rather to increase their usefulness and productiveness and make them tributary to a large surrounding country; to minimize the destruction of our forest resources by fire or wasteful and unscientific cutting; to maintain and improve the timber industry by preparing for a permanent and continuous yield of forest products, developing new growths as the old trees are gradually removed; to protect the sources of water supply for the neighboring country, and for distant parts reached by rivers having their origin thereabout; and finally, by preventing the cutting of only the best timber and subsequent abandonment of the wooded lands, to encourage the bona-fide settlement of the contiguous agricultural sections, the abundance and cheapness of the local forest products being a great inducement. Much care has been taken, moreover, to avoid anything which should interfere with legitimate prospecting for minerals and development of mines.

Now Congress, under the inspiration of the opponents of a scientific forest-reservation scheme, threatens to step in and upset nearly all that has been accomplished by abolishing half of the total reserves. This is not attempted directly, but indirectly, by means of an amendment to the sundry civil bill. This

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amendment, having been approved by the Senate and rejected by the House, is now in conference, and there is not the shadow of an excuse for yielding on the part of the House. Last summer, in deference to their claim that settlers and miners would be prevented by President Cleveland's proclamation from taking up valuable agricultural and mining land, that order (except so far as concerns California, which has had its eyes opened as to the value of forest reservation) was suspended by Congress until March 1, 1898, and the mineral land laws, we believe, have also been extended to the reservations. All these concessions having been made to "local sentiment," it is difficult to understand on what grounds the opposition can be based. It is rumored that the grievance of the radicals is that the surveys of the reserves have not yet been completed, but to abolish the reserves because of the necessity of rectifying the frontiers hereafter would be like burning down a barn to catch the rats.

George P. Marsh, in his admirable volume, 'Man and Nature,' which may be said to be a grammar of geographic modification, quotes a certain authority as saying that the deterioration of Spain from its position as a first-class Power was largely due to the reckless destruction of its forests, and adds: "I believe Spain is the only European land which has not made some public provision for the protection and restoration of the woods—the only country whose people systematically war upon the garden of God." It is over thirty years since Marsh in this volume warned us that we were rapidly approaching the time when the fate of Mediterranean countries would be ours. Would it not be a strange, sad comedy if Congress should at this time vote to return to the antiquated Spanish policy from which the Forest Commission bade fair to rescue us?

FRENCH PROGRESS.

The progress France is making along the line traced by the recent anti-Zola proceedings is really very remarkable. The whole Dreyfus affair seems, in fact, to have given a great stimulus to two closely allied things—intolerance and protection. The *Indépendance Belge* reports, through its Paris correspondent, that the anti-Semitic rage has penetrated even the dressmakers' work-rooms. He says there are two leading dressmakers or milliners in Paris, one of whom employs mostly Catholics, and the other mainly Jewesses. The one employing the Jewesses called her hands together the other day, told them she could no longer have Jewesses on her premises, and discharged twelve of them. The discharged girls then went to a Jewess who employs Catholics, and she promptly discharged twelve Catholics to make way for the Jewesses. The Catholics then went and took the vacant places at the other shop. So the good work of spreading "the ideas of '89" goes on.

In Algeria, as we all know, there have been terrible anti-Semitic riots and some loss of life. The *Réveil Algérien*, commenting thereon, says that if war breaks out, there will be only one thing to do, "in order to produce a powerful moral effect and to reassure public opinion." That would be, when the announcement of the beginning of hostilities was made, "to put Zola, Clémenceau, Labori [Zola's counsel], Rothschild, and all the principal Jews of the French republic, up against a wall and lodge twelve balls in each of their carcasses."

Side by side with this comes a fresh and furious outbreak of protectionist feeling. A certain M. Adrien Melville writes to the *Éclair* that on the Ivory Coast the French whites cannot any longer put up with the competition of the blacks. It appears that the blacks are displaying an outrageous aptitude for trade directly with Europe, without the intervention of French merchants, which constitutes, he says, a "real danger." A number of blacks, he observes, now possess small steamers employed in trade, with their own colors flying at the masthead, and during a recent visit to Assinie he had received a call from a black who, in nine years, had made three millions of francs dealing in mahogany. "Think of this, dear countrymen," says he. He goes on to argue in favor of differential duties on English goods, which, he intimates, are bothering the French colonists a good deal. The *Journal des Économistes* contrasts this with the English practice of throwing open the trade of their colonies to all the world. It points out also that this French practice of closing colonies to foreigners makes it the interest of all the white merchants of Europe, and of all the yellow races of Asia, to desire the extension of English dominion, to the detriment of that of France.

Along with all this came the demand in the Chambers, before their adjournment, for more duty on lead to protect still further the one French lead mine, and on all products of industry into which lead enters. There was also a demand for increased duty on silk, but only for the benefit of those manufacturers who employ French labor exclusively. A society called the "Association of French Industry and Agriculture" had a meeting recently, at which a series of what the French call "vœux," or demands, invited, first, a protest against the McKinley tariff, with additional duties on American goods coming into Madagascar; next looked for more duty on raw silk, and again for more duty on ships built abroad; protested against any reduction in the duty on linens; suggested more duty on American cotton oils and oleaginous grain, and a rise in the duty on horses; and, finally, denounced any international conference on the beet-sugar bounties. The French "Société des Agriculteurs" has also demanded that the teaching of free trade in the colleges should be prohibited, and that the public instruction should thus be made to accord with public policy as expressed in legislation.

All this indicates a lamentable retrogression from the earlier days of popular government in France, and it is difficult not to ascribe it all to the same cause—the spirit of hostility to foreigners bred by the late war, the consequent rise of the army into overmastering importance, and the decline of civil interests and considerations. What the Dreyfus affair has revealed is, that the army really rules the state, that none of the existing statesmen dare to gainsay it, and that the phrase "chose jugée" really means the will of the generals in command. It is not now denied that Dreyfus never saw the document on which he was convicted, and that, if the War Department said he ought not to see it, this was enough to satisfy the claims of justice. Asking for such a doctrine as this the respect which ought, in a constitutional country, to be accorded to the *res adjudicata*, is a sure sign that the famous "principles of '89" have lost their old place in the popular mind. Such is the usual result of love of war and prolonged preparation for war in a free country. The story is so old and well known that it seems almost absurd to recall it. The Dreyfus trial, with its acceptance by the public as fair and just, is the most significant thing which has occurred in France since the overthrow of Napoleon—more significant by far than the acceptance of the Third Empire by popular vote. That vote was made under the terror of anarchy. The attack on Dreyfus occurred in the midst of republican peace, and yet it was characterized by the same bigotry and ferocity as the Calas case in the middle of the last century.

THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

May 6, 1898.

The tragic death of Georg Bühler had not yet been published when the Oriental Society held its annual meeting at Hartford, last month. One of the duties inseparable from each foregathering of the Society is to tell the tale of those who have died since the last reunion. On this occasion there were very few to commemorate, and when the short record was read and the names of Dr. Drisler and Dr. J. H. Trumbull, both of whom had been corporate members for forty years, had been fittingly recalled, it was not supposed that there remained still unmentioned another name, already, in fact, removed from the roll of those whom the Society is proud to have upon its list of honorary members. But only a few days before this, Georg Bühler, the genial and highly endowed professor of Sanskrit in the University of Vienna, had been drowned; a fate that recalls the death of Bergaigne, the brilliant French Sanskritist, who perished

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in a glacier ten years ago. Both were men of rare ability, and both died just when the world expected most of them. Bergaigne was only fifty, but his exegesis of the Veda had placed him in the front rank of Sanskrit scholarship. Bühler was just sixty, and, despite the great amount of valuable work which he had done, that which he had at heart to do, and for which he had already laid the foundation in wide-reaching preliminary studies, promised to be the masterpiece of his life. This was nothing less than a history of India before the Mohammedan invasion, a work for which Bühler was peculiarly adapted, as is attested by the mass of material which he so easily controlled, not only on the side of literary records but elsewhere—material supplied by his studies in mediæval geography and his thorough knowledge of inscriptions. For many years he was the Commissioner of Education in the Gujarat district, and distinguished himself as official purchaser of manuscripts for the British Government. In Indian epigraphy he was easily first, and has left in his 'Grundriss' and 'Indian Studies' the invaluable results of that patient investigation, combined with acute insight, which makes the master scholar. The different provinces which his genius traversed were many. History and geography became the delight of his later years, but he has left behind him the evidence of his broad interest in all things pertaining to India in his 'Digest of Hindu Law,' and in his contributions to the body of legal literature translated in the 'Sacred Books of the East.' His death will be felt deeply, not only because of the loss to Sanskrit scholarship, but by many on account of the sincere personal friendship they entertained toward him. For he was not only a great scholar; he was a very broad-minded, whole-souled man, ever ready to render assistance in suggestive thought and material act, and the younger scholars on both sides of the Atlantic who will mourn truly for him are many in number.

It seems proper, as it is pleasant, to acknowledge this debt of learning and of kindliness before speaking of the regular meeting of the Society. But the meeting itself was not without features of unusual interest. For the first time an attempt was made to group the large number of papers presented in such a way that the general public might know in advance at which session to expect the most intelligible information. For it cannot be denied that many of the papers are too technical to interest any save specialists, and it seems a pity to admit the eager throng of outsiders, who are tempted to come to the meetings on the strength of their interest in things Oriental, and then have them yawn through the dreary lengths of statistics which some of the good members think necessary to present. So Friday afternoon, the middle session of the meeting, was set apart for the pious function of reading "papers of popular interest," and if the audience were not gratified it was not the fault of the scholars who labored to please them. Prof. Haupt's criticism of criticisms of the Polychrome Bible was intended to amuse as well as enlighten, and the able editor succeeded in both aims. The same scholar also contributed an interesting account of tattooing among the Semites, which he had recently written for the Folk-Lore Society. Prof. Bloomfield presented as his offering a plan for a proposed photographic reproduction of the unique and famous 'Pâippalâda Samhitâ,' and Prof. Lanman added to his list of learned essays a paper on Hindu lyric poetry, which seemed especially suitable to the exercises of this afternoon. That there might be few parts of the Orient neglected, the Rev. Mr. Blodget described the "Worship of Heaven and Earth by the Emperor of China," and Prof. Jackson expounded a new theory in regard to the death of Zoroaster. Perhaps the most "popular" paper, in tone, was that of Mr. Scott on the simple savage, though it contained as much thought as wit. But to describe all the general papers would leave little space to speak of the more special essays presented at the three other sessions.

One of these sessions, in accordance with the arrangement made at the last annual meeting, was devoted to papers on the history of religions. A new branch of the Society, called the Section for the Historical Study of Religions, has just been created, and some of the *Nation's* readers may be glad to know that any properly accredited person interested in the history of religions may join the section without becoming a member of the Society, though all members of the Society are *ipso facto* members of the section. Such members of the section pay a small annual fee, and in return receive such publications of the Society as have to do with the history of religions. One of the most important papers read at this session was contributed by Prof. Toy. It professed to be a mere notice of the newly published *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, but it was in reality an able critique of the "science of religion," in distinction from the history of religions, and was particularly well-timed in coming at the first session of the section.

The Society (for the whole Society attended the session of the section) was so interested in Prof. Jastrow's paper on "Adam and Eve in Babylonian Literature," that he was unanimously requested to exceed his proper time limit, that the Society might hear the whole essay. To permit this, some other papers had to be read "by title," to which decapitation their respective authors gladly consented; but this brought to the fore one of the distressing factors in a crowded annual meeting—the necessary suppression of many papers owing to the few hours actually at command. Even the sacrifice of three hours on the altar of "popular interest" really made little difference, for there were more papers presented than could possibly have been read in full. Next year the meeting, in view of this, will have one session more; but it looks at present as if, with the growing number of yearly papers, four days instead of the usual three will soon be required, if justice is to be done to the papers and to their writers. For one of the chief objects of the meeting, mutual friendly criticism, is entirely suppressed when papers are read in five-minute abstracts or shelved "by title." To the older scholars this is of little consequence, as they are generally willing enough to be heard in print alone, and rather look on the reading of a paper as a bore. But the new members who are young scholars, and are more subject to new theories, deserve and should get a hearing, if only that the elders may suggest, criticise, and encourage or discourage, as seems needful.

There were many papers read at the two general sessions devoted neither to religion nor to the public at large. Prof. Gottheil spoke on Syriac folk-medicine; Prof. Bloomfield made some remarks on the myth of Purûravas and Urvaçî; two young scholars and new members, Messrs. Gray and Remy, presented careful studies, on the metres of Bhartrihari and the equation "*jana* is *zana*," respectively; Prof. Haupt had a budget of papers, one on the Sumerian question and two on points of Semitic grammar; Prof. Hopkins contributed as many on Village Communities, the history of Hindu guilds, and epic diction; Prof. Jackson sketched the dramatic elements in Sanskrit plays, and made new Indo-Iranian contributions; Dr. Torrey located "Bethulia"; Prof. Oertel read a new paper on Brahmanical legends; and Prof. Lanman brought up fresh data in regard to the curious beliefs in milk-drinking swans and the efficacy of "walking the deazil." Prof. Macdonald, though his time must have been well taken up with his duties as "Committee of Arrangements," had found time to write on the religious attitude of Averroes and on Poe as an Orientalist. Other papers were by Prof. Ward, on Hittite art; by Prof. Prince, on prepositional usage in Assyrian; by Mr. Scott, on Polynesian words in English; while still others were presented by title or in abstract, their writers being absent. Altogether, there were more than fifty papers, ranging from mere notes to solid treatises.

The sessions naturally took up most of the members' time, nor did the weather favor excursions; so that Hartford, except for the street from the hotel to the Seminary, remained unseen. A complimentary reception in the Theological Seminary building, on Thursday, gave the members an opportunity to see the rare collection of Arabic manuscripts in the library and enjoy at the same time the bountiful kindness of the theological faculty. On Saturday afternoon, with a vote of thanks for the hospitality received, and for the exertions of the committee of arrangements, the Society dispersed, most of the members taking the train south, others leaving for Boston, where the next meeting, in April, 1899, will be held.

PICTURES IN LONDON.

LONDON, April 30, 1898.

That any one should have time to show pictures, or think of pictures, or write about pictures at a moment when war has been declared, and such tremendous national issues are at stake, seems on the face of it absurdly, almost wickedly incongruous. And yet it is curious to remember that it is to just such crises in the history of the past that we must look back to the greatest periods of art, and to the making of many of the masterpieces now preserved among a nation's treasures. To take but a single instance, but one especially appropriate at this juncture, have we not the "Lances" of Velasquez as a record of Spain's cruellest and most vindictive wars in the days of her might and power? And it is as curious to consider that while the wars have passed and gone, while the evils they brought in their train have been long since righted and forgotten, while incidents that were the most stirring and important at the time have become the dry facts of history or the myths of romance, the art alone has survived. Philip and Alva are now but names, but memories, but shadows. The picture of Velasquez is, and will be until the last bit of paint has faded or dropped from the canvas, a supreme possession not only for Spain, but for the whole world. It is no

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wonder that there have been many men to believe that art is the one reality in life. Art alone lives, while the artists who created it, and all things with them, perish.

I am not sure, however, even if this truth justifies our interest in exhibitions opening in London at the very moment when newspaper posters are announcing the bombardment of Havana and the premature invasion of New York—in other words, that much in either the New Gallery or the Royal Academy is destined to outlive the generation that produced it. The painters are many, but the artists are few; and work fairly pleasant and often very skilful somehow seems more trivial than usual this spring. I have looked carefully through the two exhibitions, and I have found nothing really of vital importance, nothing to which one could imagine students in the future turning with delight and interest and profit, but the portraits by Mr. Sargent and an occasional landscape. Mr. Sargent, however, has never been seen in such force. He has no less than eight portraits at the Royal Academy, four at the New Gallery. Critics of late years have been pointing out the great gulf fixed, on the mere question of physical power, between the old masters, like Rubens, and the many moderns with whom one or two small paintings represent a fruitful year's work. But Mr. Sargent is not to be counted with these. And it is not only in the quantity of his productions that he towers over most of his contemporaries, but in quality—that is, in England. At the Champ de Mars he is not quite such a giant; and one always would like to see just how he would stand the test if his portraits were hung, say, in the National Gallery, side by side with those of Rembrandt, or Franz Hals, or Velasquez. One knows that at the Luxembourg the "Carmencita," in all the golden splendor of silk and lace, pales before the picture of the old lady in simple black gown against a quiet gray wall, that hangs opposite. But at the Royal Academy Mr. Sargent must be judged by Academic standards, and, thus judged, his triumph is complete.

His most striking, his most distinguished work this year is the portrait of a man, Mr. Wertheimer. His women are less successful, or certainly less original. In the case of the finest, the "Mrs. Thursley" of the New Gallery, beautiful as is his treatment of the gown—the very latest confection from Worth's, one would say—marvellous as is the vitality of the figure, one feels in the pose, in the very alertness of the lady who sits in one corner of the wide arm-chair, her dainty purple skirts wrapped tight about her crossed legs, the influence of M. Boldini, that was also but more faintly suggested in the Mrs. Myers of last year's Academy. And as M. Boldini has done this sort of thing so much better, one can but regret that Mr. Sargent has not been satisfied to remain simply himself. But there is no such fault to find with the "Asher Wertheimer, Esq." In this amazing portrait Mr. Sargent has been influenced by no one. He has seen the character of the man and has reproduced it in paint, relentlessly, uncompromisingly. Before you stands the rich, prosperous, powerful Jew, with all the mercantile genius and cunning of his race stamped upon the strange Eastern face. He holds a cigar in one hand; to his left you just see the head of a poodle, with great pink tongue lolling out, and for background there is a dark screen, with its folds lost in shadow. And you know not at which to marvel most: at the firm, free modelling of the face (as in the "Mrs. Thursley" the vitality of the figure), the wonderful way the dog's head is put in, the quality in the many blacks, or at the masterly portrayal of character. In his rendering of the faces of the two children in his "Mrs. Myers," Mr. Sargent showed that he too had felt the strange fascination the Hebrew type has had for so many painters. But the tentative suggestion of that picture has developed into perfect realization in the Mr. Wertheimer. There are two or three other portraits of men almost as good, but not one really to equal it, for in none other did his subject give him such a chance. I wish that Mr. Sargent would do for the commanders and generals of our navy and army what Velasquez did for those of Spain, and that some day we might have in Washington a series which, though they could not compete with the portraits of the Prado, would, like them, serve as a great record of great and stirring times.

After Mr. Sargent's, the other portraits pale, the other Academicians simply disappear; always excepting Mr. Orchardson, whose portraits invariably have a refinement and individuality that make them notable where so much is either feeble in its commonplace or vulgar in its attempt to force attention. The two most ambitious efforts are by Mr. Herkomer and Mr. Solomon, who have sought, on a large scale, to commemorate incidents of the Jubilee. But both have succeeded in missing the splendor and dignity of the pageant; each has given a dull, prosaic, photographic presentment of scenes that would have been a glorious inspiration to Veronese. It is a pity that the commission could not have been intrusted to Mr. Abbey, who certainly has genuine feeling for the beauty of color and composition; and, as I have so often said before, I think it a mistake for a painter to devote his powers to reviving a past about which he knows next to nothing, when the present, which he does know, affords him quite as fine opportunities. As it is, in Mr. Abbey's pictures—a "King Lear" at the Academy, a "Poet" at the New Gallery—we are all too conscious of the studio. His arrangement of models and costumes, excellent as it may be, savors of the stage rather than of life. He has been obliged to rely upon his own imagination for the court of King Lear; he could have seen for himself the Lord Mayor in gorgeous robes, mounted on a magnificent horse, surrounded by pompous officials, as he waited at Temple Bar to receive the Queen—the special moment in the day's spectacle chosen as motive by Mr. Solomon.

If from the portraits I turn to the landscapes that promise to be remembered when Cuba may be forgotten, I find but one among all the two thousand exhibits at the Royal Academy, the five hundred at the New Gallery. There are many excellently painted, many interesting as experiments, as impressions. But the only one that haunts you afterwards is Mr. Peppercorn's "Common." A "sublime creation" a London critic not too lavish with his praise has called it, and he scarcely exaggerates. There is a rolling stretch of green open land, with a clump of trees to the right, and a few sheep wandering under a gray, sombre sky. Nothing could be simpler, less sensational. But the painter has seen it as a whole—as a picture—not as a bewildering, restless collection of petty details. It is complete in its solemnity, its great peace. As powerful, though not with the same poetic charm, the same rhythmical harmony, is a picture called "The Harrow," by Mr. George Clausen, at the Royal Academy. There is in this a very beautifully suggested landscape, a wide expanse of brown and green fields, upon which lie broad lines of sunlight, under a brilliant blue cloud-swept sky. The landscape is simply a background; it is subordinated to the study, almost ugly in its beautiful brutality, of a big white horse. You can fancy people looking at it some day as we look now at Paul Potter's "Bull" at The Hague, wondering at its skill, marvelling still more that the painter should have wasted himself upon so uninspiring a theme. But in Mr. Clausen's picture there is a splendor of color and a beauty of light and atmosphere that saves it from the hopeless prose of the Dutchman.

These are the few pictures that stand out with anything like distinction, that can rouse a strong emotion. It seems paradoxical, therefore, to add that the general average of the Academy is higher than of old. And yet it must be so, for while Frenchmen like Bonnat and Carolus-Duran and Benjamin Constant, whose technical ability is beyond question, are among the exhibitors, their work passes all but unnoticed. But this fact only proves, as we have long since learned in the old Salon, that technical dexterity, essential as it must ever be, does not alone suffice to the artist. English painters are better trained than they used to be. That is all.

It is worth noting, too, that this higher average is attained without the aid of many of the more accomplished of the younger men. The Glasgow group, who have been so discourteously treated in the past by the Academy, have reserved their forces for the International Exhibition that opens in London early in May. Nor is so fine a landscape-painter as Mr. Peppercorn to be found at Burlington House, nor so able a portrait-painter as Mr. Furse. And so one might go on counting up notable omissions. For the rest, I shall content myself by saying that in the sculpture room there is a fine bust of Mr. Lionel Smythe, one of the new Associates by Mr. Gibert, and also some very charming enamels by Mr. and Mrs. Nelson Dawson; that the water-colors are as feeble and inconsequent as usual, and that nothing could be less representative than the black-and-white.

N. N.

Correspondence.

INDEMNITY.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: A recent letter from Washington makes the statement that there is a strong feeling in Congress favoring the retention of the Philippine Islands by the United States after the close of the war. It is, of course, taken for granted that the close of the war will see the United States in a position to make its own terms.

It is of no use to object to Congress stultifying itself by announcing at the outbreak of the war the terms upon which it will consent to make peace, as the French so blatantly did in 1870, but it is not too soon to protest in the name of the national honor and national self-respect against any idea

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or intention on the part of this country of profiting by a war undertaken avowedly in the cause of humanity, and for the purpose of delivering a weak and grievously wronged people from the hand of a cruel master.

Congress has openly and before the world disavowed all intention of exercising any form of sovereignty over Cuba after the Spanish troops shall have been withdrawn. If we expect our action in forcing the war to be approved by the nations of the world, and our motives to be vindicated in history, not only must this engagement be kept to the letter during all time, but also the honest and honorable corollary that, should we be victorious, as every American confidently expects that we shall, we must retire with absolutely clean hands, and, if need be, empty pockets, demanding no indemnity whether in gold or in territory; conscious of having acted a humane and manly part, of having won for a million and a half of our fellow-creatures the right to enjoy life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and for ourselves no material advantage whatsoever.

It is true that Russia demanded a war indemnity from Turkey after the war of 1877-'78, undertaken, ostensibly at least, for reasons similar to those of the United States for bringing on the present war. Russia was the aggressor, as, rightly or wrongly, the United States is now the aggressor; but no number of precedents will convert an indefensible action into one which is high-minded and honorable.

A favorite illustration of the position of this country has been that of likening it to a man who sees his next-door neighbor beating his (the neighbor's) apprentice into a shapeless mass. If he were to interfere and rescue the apprentice from the brutal master, he would have the same right to demand recompense for a torn shirt or a broken arm gotten in the scuffle as the United States would have to claim an indemnity for its war expenses. If, instead of sending ships and troops to fight the Cuban battles, we should send the necessary millions in gold, should we have a claim upon Spain for repayment when Cuba became free?

Let us beware of placing ourselves in the position of doing a noble and generous act, and then demanding that a bankrupt and humbled enemy shall pay our expenses.

Very truly yours, J. H. K. BURGWIN.

PITTSBURGH, May 9, 1898.

OF PRAYERS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Apropos of your recent criticism of the prayers offered in American churches for "the protection of our soldiers in the field," why do we never hear in our churches a prayer offered for Spain? She is our enemy, for she has refused to give up Cuba at our demand, and her citizens will send cargoes of merchandise over the sea, carrying her offensive flag, and her war-ships shoot cannon at ours when attacked. Prayer for enemies is one of the first of Christian duties. How can our clergymen reconcile it with their consciences, then, that they are not praying for Spain, that she may be forgiven for disobeying our mandate to relinquish her possessions in Cuba, and for using deadly weapons against those who are punishing her for this refusal and for the blowing up of the *Maine* by slaying her seamen and appropriating the private property of her citizens? Why are they not praying that she may repent of her crimes under the suffering which, as the instrument of Providence, we are reluctantly inflicting?

They are under the more urgent obligation to do so from the fact that the American Board has lately withdrawn its missionaries from Spain. We have no other means of contributing to the religious and moral welfare of this benighted people than our prayers offer, except, indeed, the example of Christian self-sacrifice which we set before them in waging this war—an example which only supernatural power will make their darkened minds appreciate. H.

ANDOVER, MASS., May 6, 1898.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: You will, I hope, let me say how thoroughly your sensible position on this war question is appreciated by *some* non-fighting parsons, at least. The facility with which men allow themselves to be dragooned into compliance with the ravings of a corrupt press is, alas! one of the most discouraging and ominous signs of a sure moral decadence. To cheer for country, "right or wrong," is of a piece with cheering for *party*, "right or wrong"; and that is the partisan bane of our times.

I believe that a citizenship in the heavenly country has some precedence over even that in one's own country.

Yours, etc., JOHN H. CONVERSE.

RECTORY OF THE CHURCH OF THE MESSIAH, GWYNEDD, PA., May 7, 1898.

THE CASE OF THE *BUENAVENTURA*.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: On April 20 President McKinley telegraphed an ultimatum to Spain demanding her withdrawal from Cuba, and an answer to this demand by noon of the 23d. Before the delivery of the ultimatum by our Minister in Madrid, the Spanish Government sent him his passports; notifying him at the same time that Spain considered the signature to the joint resolution of Congress "as equivalent to a declaration of war" (I have not the exact words at hand). On April 22 the Spanish vessel *Buenaventura* was captured by the *Nashville*. Whether this capture was illegal, on the ground that war did not exist at the time of the capture, is a question that must be decided by a prize court.

It was very wrong in the United States not to await the expiration of the sixty hours given by the ultimatum before authorizing any captures, because, until then, it could not be known whether, at the last moment, Spain would not decide to comply with the ultimatum. But the prize court should nevertheless hold that war had already commenced. All Spaniards are represented in the acts and declarations of their own Government, and, by her notification of April 21 to our Minister, Spain is estopped to deny that war existed on April 22, when the capture was made; and the owners of the vessel are bound by that estoppel.

FRANCIS J. LIPPITT.

WASHINGTON, May 8, 1698.

"FAKE" MAGAZINE ENTERPRISE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The May number of the *Cosmopolitan* contains an article entitled the "Autobiography of Napoleon Bonaparte." The article is prefaced with an editorial introduction which is carefully worded to convey the impression, while avoiding the explicit statement, that the manuscript which it is the purpose to publish was secretly sent by Napoleon from St. Helena to America in 1817, that it has been unknown during all the ensuing period, and is now to be published for the first time. It says the article and those to follow "purport" to be "The Autobiography of Napoleon Bonaparte, sent out secretly from St. Helena, brought to America in 1817, and, by a series of mischances, held in obscurity for eighty-one years." The editor comes dangerously near *suggestio falsi* in the statement that the autobiography is "unlike many old papers unearthed in modern times."

In a further editorial note in another part of the magazine—the article is of such importance as to justify two—the editor gives some account of the "autobiography," including the fact that "it had appeared mysteriously in London in 1817," but that "both the English and French Governments were interested in its suppression," and stating that "the matter was permitted to drop out of sight, . . . and it has so remained for three-quarters of a century." The regular publication of the manuscript is to commence next month, but, meanwhile, to whet the appetite of the reader, a section is now published, "which will," the editor says, "we feel sure, excite the intensest interest of students."

Language could scarcely come nearer stating explicitly that the manuscript is now about to be published for the first time. In 1817 there was published in New York by Van Winkle & Wiley, No. 3 Wall Street, a book with the title, 'Manuscript Transmitted from St. Helena, by an Unknown Channel. Translated from the French.' The foreword in this book is one that might appropriately accompany the first publication of such a manuscript; it comments upon the conjecture that it was written by Napoleon, and is strongly suggestive of the statements made by the editor of the *Cosmopolitan* eighty-one years later. While this book is apparently somewhat rare, a copy of it is in my own possession, and copies can undoubtedly be found in the libraries of many collectors of Napoleoniana. The section of the autobiography given is copied from this book, and the copy of the manuscript which "by chance recently came into the hands of the editor," is a copy of the book described. Lowndes, also, under "Napoleon I.," notes the publication in London in 1817 of a book under the title 'Manuscrit venu de St.-Hélène, d'une manière inconnue.' PLINY B. SMITH.

CHICAGO, May 1, 1898.

TENNYSON AND CATULLUS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the new Memoir of Alfred, Lord Tennyson (vol. ii., p. 239), there is recorded a curious misquotation of one of the most familiar lines of Catullus. Mr. Gladstone had compared the poem "At Midnight," which was written as a preface to Charles (Tennyson) Turner's 'Collected Sonnets,' to Catullus's elegy on his brother, and the late Laureate replied:

"I am glad, too, that you are touched by my little prefatory poem, so far as to honour it by a comparison with those lovely lines, 'Multas per terras et multa per aequora

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vectus,' of which, as you truly say, neither I nor any other 'can surpass the beauty'; nor can any modern elegy, so long as men retain the least hope in the after-life of those whom they loved, equal in pathos the desolation of that everlasting farewell, 'Atque in perpetuum frater ave atque vale.'"

This quotation from memory of the noble "Multas per *gentes*," etc., is the more interesting in view of Tennyson's lifelong admiration for Catullus, for which we have not only his own express statement in the Memoir (ii., 400), but also some scattered evidence in his poems.

The closing section of "Eleänore" is a free translation either of the "Ille mi par esse deo videtur" of Catullus, or of the ode of Sappho from which that poem was itself translated. The allusion in "Edwin Morris,"

> "Shall not Love to me,
> As in the Latin song I learnt at school,
> Sneeze out a full God-bless-you right and left?"

is to the charming love-idyll of Acme and Septimius,

> "Hoc ut dixit, Amor, sinistra ut ante,
> Dextra sternuit adprobationem."

The lines in "In Memoriam," lvii,

> "And 'Ave, Ave, Ave,' said
> 'Adieu, adieu,' for ever more,"

seem to be a reminiscence of "Atque in perpetuum, frater, ave atque vale," and Prof. Tyrrell has recently maintained ('Latin Poetry,' p. 115) that in the noble passage of "Tithonus," where the horses of the Sun

> "shake the darkness from their loosen'd manes,
> And *beat the twilight into flakes of fire*,"

Tennyson must have had in his mind the passage in the "Attis" where Catullus says of the rising Sun,

> "And he smote on the dim dawn's path with the hoofs of his fiery chariot-steeds"—

"pepulitque noctis umbras vegetis sonipedibus."

The metrical experiment entitled "Hendecasyllabics" is "all composed in a metre of Catullus"; the metre of the "Boädicea" is an echo of the metre of the "Attis"; and a great part of the "Jubilee Ode" is written in the metre of the "Collis O Heliconii."

In 1880 Tennyson visited Sirmio, the peninsula of Catullus, and there he made his "Frater Ave atque Vale." The "O venusta Sirmio" of this poem, the "Lydian laughter of the Garda Lake," and the "sweet Catullus's all-but-island" are quoted from the exquisite lines in which the ancient poet expressed the delight of his home-coming after his year's absence in Bithnyia; the "'Ave atque Vale' of the Poet's hopeless woe" refers to the pathetic invocation offered by Catullus at his brother's tomb in the Troad.

And lastly, to the "sweet Catullus" and the "tenderest of Roman poets" of the "Frater Ave atque Vale" we may add the dainty reference to the dainty "Lugete, O Veneres Cupidinesque," in "Poets and their Bibliographies," where Catullus is ranked as a lyrist above the "old popular Horace"—

> "And you, that wear a wreath of sweeter bay,
> Catullus, whose dead songster never dies."

WILFRED P. MUSTARD.

HAVERFORD COLLEGE, May 4, 1898.

COLLEGE DEBATES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It may be of interest to know that Mr. Ringwalt's suggestion in the *Nation* of April 28 for the removal of a difficulty in the judging of college debates has already been adopted by the Ohio Intercollegiate Debating League, composed of Oberlin College and Ohio State, Ohio Wesleyan, and Western Reserve Universities. The Constitution of the League provides that

"Each judge of a contest shall be furnished with a typewritten copy of the following form for his ballot: In my opinion, without reference to my views upon the merits of the question, the most effective debating has been done by the { affirmative. / negative."

Though the questions debated have been such as competent judges are sure to have definite opinions upon, there has been no complaint that decisions have been based upon the merits of the question rather than the merits of the debate. But, on the other hand, the objection has been raised that this method does not sharply enough distinguish the debate from the oratorical contest. There is danger that brilliancy of speech rather than soundness of argument shall win. However, it is believed that the difficulties arising from this source are not serious, and that this is, on the whole, the most satisfactory method. T. N. CARVER.

OBERLIN COLLEGE, April 29, 1898.

ZEUS AND JUPITER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the review of 'Historic Ornament' (*Nation*, No. 1910), you challenge the propriety of "treating Zeus indifferently under that name or as Jupiter"; but if there is one identification clear in Greco-Italian mythology, it is that, and we have it in Latin inscriptions demonstrated by the "Zeus Pater," especially in a vase of about 400 B. C., found at Falerii, with "Minerva" as the name of an evident Athena, "Cupido" in place of Eros, etc. The Saturnian family being Pelasgic, its gods belonged both to Greece and to Italy; Saturn typifying probably the Pelasgic migration located in Italy, where it developed its first great civilization, and Zeus the Pelasgi swarming out over the Greek lands and founding the great Mediterranean empire in Crete. But to question the absolute identity for all purposes of Zeus and Jupiter seems to me rash, no matter what may be said of the secondary gods, Neptune, Mars, etc., as to which I admit question.—Yours truly,

W. J. STILLMAN.

ROME, April 26, 1898.

Notes.

The Macmillan Co. announce 'The Hope of Immortality,' by the Rev. J. E. C. Welldon, Headmaster of Harrow School.

T. Y. Crowell & Co. have in press for early publication Duruy's 'General History of the World,' revised and continued to date by Prof. E. A. Grosvenor of Amherst College, with twenty-five newly engraved colored maps; and 'The Modern Man and Maid,' by Sarah Grand.

A translation of Bull's 'Fridtjof Nansen,' by M. R. Barnard and Dr. P. Groth, is announced (with an eye to its use as supplementary reading in schools) by D. C. Heath & Co., Boston.

Close upon the appearance of a German 'Poole's Index' comes the announcement of D. Jordel's 'Répertoire Bibliographique des principales revues françaises, pour l'année 1897,' an author and subject-index of the contributions and original memoirs published in 142 French periodicals. The list seems quite comprehensive, including all sciences and such literary magazines as the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, *Monde Moderne*, *Cosmopolis*, and others. The book will be an octavo in double columns (Paris: Librairie Nilsson; New York: Lemcke & Buechner).

Much the most important work on the French historical horizon is an extensive History of France from the earliest times to the Revolution, under the editorship of Ernest Lavisse, of the French Academy, who has been laboring on it for the past eight years. It will be composed of sixteen volumes, the first containing a general introduction, from the pen of M. Lavisse, and a geographical introduction by M. Vidal de la Blache of the Superior Normal School. The second, devoted to ancient and Roman Gaul, will be by M. Bloch, also of the Normal School; the third, the Merovingian and Carlovingian periods, by M. Bayot, correspondent of the Institute; the fourth and fifth, feudal France, and the beginnings of the Capetian dynasty, by M. Luchaire, member of the Institute, and professor at the University of Paris; the sixth, France from the coming to the throne of St. Louis till the breaking out of the Hundred Years' War, by M. Langlois, professor at the Paris University; the seventh, France during the Hundred Years' War, by Prof. Coville of Lyons University; the eighth, France under Charles VII. and Louis XI., by M. Petit-Dutaillis, professor at Lille University; the ninth, France of the Renaissance, by M. Lemonnier of the Paris University; the tenth, France under the last Valois and Henry IV., and the eleventh, France under Louis XIII., by Prof. Mariéjol of Lyons University; the thirteenth, France under Louis XIV., till the year 1678, by M. Lavisse; the fourteenth, from 1678 till the death of Louis, by M. Lavisse and M. Rébelliau, Librarian of the Institute; the fifteenth, France under Louis XV., by Prof. Carré of Poitiers University; and the sixteenth, the reign of Louis XVI., by M. Lavisse and M. Carré. This *magnum opus* will be brought out by Hachette. The first volume of the series will be Lavisse's Louis XIV., and will appear next year. The others will come out in the order in which they happen to be finished, and the whole collection will be issued within the next four years.

A somewhat different series of French histories is that undertaken by M. Alfred Duquet—a complete account, in nearly a score of volumes, of the war of 1870-1871. He has divided the period into eight separate parts, portions of which have already appeared—two volumes on Metz, and seven volumes on the various episodes of the struggles in and around Paris. These volumes won from the French Academy this year the largest reward at its disposal, the Berger prize of 12,000 francs. M. Duquet is now busy on the final volume of the Paris group, which will describe the capitulation of the French and the entrance of the Germans. It will be ready at the end of this or the commencement of next year. Seven more volumes, none of which is begun, will still remain to be finished in order to complete the series. After this, M. Duquet assures his friends, if not dead he will write the history of the Commune.

Another French author, M. Edmond Le-

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pelletier, is on the point of publishing an important book on this same Commune. The first volume, 'La Lutte,' will appear this spring. It is based wholly on original documents, personal recollections of events, and the authentic information of the author's friends and relatives. M. Lepelletier and his brother-in-law, M. Alphonse Humbert, the Deputy, were both active supporters of the Commune, and the latter has aided in the preparation of this volume, which will throw much light on a still obscure epoch. The second volume, 'La Répression,' which will describe the terrible events from the time of the entering of the regular troops into Paris to the end of the Draconian councils of war, will repose on the minutes of these councils, the newspapers of the period, and the statements of the former Communists who returned to France after deportation.

Of new volumes concerning the Bonapartes the most important will be the second volume of Chuquet's 'La Jeunesse de Napoléon' (Paris: Armand Colin). It will cover the Revolutionary epoch of the future Emperor's career. The second chapter, slightly modified, will come out in an early number of *Cosmopolis*.

M. Paul Marmottan, who has written several monographs on the Bonapartes and their era, is now engaged on other portions of a subject which he has already treated—the French domination in Central Italy during the First Empire, and especially the rôle of Napoleon in Tuscany between 1805 and 1814, and the lieutenancy exercised there in a singularly virile and remarkable manner by the Emperor's eldest sister, Princess Elisa, who resided at Florence as Grand Duchess of Tuscany during the last half of her brother's reign. M. Marmottan's tastes turn towards unedited matter, so that his volumes always add something to the stock of general historical knowledge. The large amount of new information which he has found is due in great measure to the fact that the historians of the Napoleonic era have paid comparatively little attention to French Italy.

M. Hippolyte Thirria, formerly a member of the Conseil d'État, and the author of an exceedingly full two-volume study, entitled 'Napoléon III. avant l'Empire' (Paris: Plon), is now about to issue an historical biography of the Marchioness de Crenay, who was a friend of Napoleon III., of his mother, Queen Hortense, and of the Duchess de Berry. It will contain letters, now first published, from these three last-named personages. The author professes to prove that Hortense never accepted from Louis XVIII. the title of Duchess of St.-Leu, that Louis Napoleon never bent the knee to Louis Philippe, and that he was indeed the son of King Louis.

The Harpers have been prompt in bringing out a popular edition of Nansen's 'Farthest North.' In one volume, instead of two, with all the text and with sixteen of the more important illustrations of the Library Edition, and the whole offered at less than one-third the cost of the two-volume issue, this appeal to a wider audience should meet with a quick response.

One must pay for the cheap one-volume edition of Villari's standard 'Life and Times of Machiavelli' (Scribners) with pretty thin paper and corresponding presswork, but the substance is all there for reading or for reference—if we know where to look. An index might have compelled purchase even by owners of the better edition. The binding is more elegant than the typography, matching Villari's 'Florence.'

The "new and prominent writers of the year [1897]" of whom sketches and portraits occupy the first part of Mr. James MacArthur's 'The Bookman Literary Year-Book for 1898' (Dodd, Mead & Co.), are by no means all new in a strict sense; witness Dr. Weir Mitchell, Marion Crawford, Hall Caine, Prof. C. G. D. Roberts, Edward Bellamy, Prof. Sloane, etc. Nevertheless, the list is convenient. So is the succeeding very brief series of obituaries, again with portraits. Other sections illustrated are Dramatizations of Current Fiction, and American Serials of 1897, and the volume is filled out with statistics of book-production, a list of publishing book-clubs, copyright instructions, hints for correction of proof, etc.—an odd miscellany. On the whole, one cannot praise this annual as well executed or firmly conceived; it does not compare with Mr. Aflalo's volume, having the same title, published (in America) by the same firm last year.

The Scribners have brought out 'The Indian Frontier War' of 1897, by Lionel James, Reuter's special correspondent, who accompanied both the Mohmund and the Tirah expeditions last fall and winter. From a military point of view, the difficulties of such a campaign were more from the character of the country and the embarrassments with the supply train than from hard fighting. The Afridis are excellent skirmishers, and kept up a worrying and irritating combat, day and night, without standing for a pitched battle. The English columns had a casualty list of fifteen hundred at the close of the expeditions, mostly of men picked off by sharpshooters who infested the march and harried the train-guards. The policy inexorably carried out by Sir William Lockhart was that of burning the villages and homesteads of the clans which refused to submit to an assessed fine for their outbreak, leaving the valleys a desert and the people destitute and without a roof for the winter. The book is a stirring narrative or journal, well printed, and illustrated by over thirty sketches and photographs and ten sketch-maps and plans.

'The Rise and Fall of the United States,' by "A Diplomat" (F. Tennyson Neely), is a "skit" of some two hundred pages, purporting to be "a leaf from history, A. D. 2060." If it be true that no country was ever great without producing some satire of itself, publications of this sort ought to be a hopeful sign. For those who take a different view it will be rather depressing reading. The author's thesis is that we are not merely on the road to ruin, but to total extinction. Our civilization, now at its highest point, will decline so rapidly that in less than two hundred years not a trace of our national existence will be left except the Declaration of Independence; this the author excepts from the universal oblivion which is to swallow up the United States, as being "the one imperishable monument of its early genius." The theory of our decadence developed in his prophetic vision is that (if we may venture to put it in our own way) the Democracy will swallow up the Trusts, and then fall to pieces of its own incapacity and ignorance. The West will fall away from the East, the South from the North, and the Pacific Coast will join in a federation of "certain South American States." In the end, even these divisions will be in turn subdivided into petty separate governments. Material civilization will crumble into ruins. We shall be spared the American analogue of Macaulay's New Zealander moralizing over the wreck of Greater New York from Brooklyn Bridge—for there will be no bridge for him to stand on. The book gives proof of undeniable cleverness.

The declining birth-rate, so marked of recent years in civilized countries, is considered by Mr. R. Ussher in a volume entitled 'Neo-Malthusianism' (London: Gibbings & Co.). Mr. Ussher shows that the deliberate and calculated restraints upon reproduction now so extensively employed were not in the contemplation of Malthus, and that the tendency is, therefore, misnamed. He displays great industry in collecting opinions upon the causes and results of this tendency, and certainly handles a delicate subject with the utmost propriety. It may be doubted if desirable results are obtained from discussions of this character. Those people in whom the instinct of reproduction is strong will, of course, eventually supplant those in whom it is weak, and the control of such instincts is beyond legislation. So far as earnest preaching can influence it, Mr. Ussher certainly does his best, and if he can succeed in arousing a public opinion in favor of large families, the world will continue to be peopled.

The proposal to improve our banking system by legalizing and regulating the functions that have been assumed by the clearing-houses in times of financial alarm, is the subject of an essay by Mr. Theodore Gilman, entitled 'A Graded Banking System' (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.). His contention is that there should be a clearing-house incorporated in every State, by a national law, which should issue currency to banks on pledge of their assets as collateral. Whatever the merits of this scheme may be, it is doubtful if Mr. Gilman's advocacy of it is calculated to win it support. He asserts that the nation is practically a unit in approving the issue of legal-tender notes by the Government, and that their withdrawal would produce widespread distress and confusion. "No further legislation in regard to the nation's finances or obligations is required." Mr. Gilman also maintains that banks do not lose money by panics, and care nothing for them. "The loss resulting from every money panic is incalculable, but it falls on the business community, and not on the banks." Mr. Gilman apparently supposes that bankers are indifferent to the solvency of the people whose notes they discount.

A journey in Somaliland in 1897, by Count E. Wickenburg, forms the subject of the first article in *Petermann's Mitteilungen*, number three. This traveller confirms the truth of the oft-repeated reports of the frightful barbarity of the Abyssinian raiders in this country, and deprecates strongly the abandonment of any of the helpless Somali by the English through the recent treaty with Abyssinia. Dr. E. von Drygalski discusses the conditions of the inland ice of Greenland, from his own observations in 1891-93, with a view to discover the physical causes and geographical effects of the ice-movement in the glacial epoch. This gentleman has been chosen to lead the German Antarctic expedition, to consist of five scientific men, five officers, and fifteen sailors, and to be absent two years. The supplemental number 124

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contains a treatise, by Dr. A. Supan, upon the distribution of the rainfall upon the dry land of the globe, with numerous tables of observations and three charts showing the average yearly rainfall and the amount at the different seasons of the year. The basin of the Amazon seems to exceed all other large regions in its rainfall, the amount registered being over 2,000 mm. (78.7 inches). The coast of Alaska is the only part of this country with a like amount.

The campaign in the Sudan proves conclusively that under English tutelage the Egyptian is being made into a good soldier and fighter. The report for 1897 of Sir John Scott, the Judicial Adviser of the Egyptian Government, shows that the fellah is also becoming a law-abiding citizen. The number of serious crimes "has fallen from 1,866 in 1896 to 1,424 in 1897, whilst six years ago the annual total reached 2,625," and there has been a sensible diminution of petty crimes. At the same time the administration of the laws by the native tribunals is continually improving, with a corresponding increase in the public confidence in them.

The Canadian "Regulations Governing Placer Mining" in the Yukon district, approved January 18, 1898, with diagrams showing plans of the different kinds of claims, are published in the Consular Reports for April. There are also some useful hints as to the cultivation of the ginseng in America and its preparation for the Chinese market. The exports of the root from this country to China in 1896 amounted to 353,147 pounds, valued at $656,515 gold—an amount which might be vastly increased if "American farmers of the mountain regions of Pennsylvania, Michigan, Colorado, Wyoming, Georgia, Idaho, and North Carolina, where ginseng grows wild, would cultivate it on land that had no other productive value." Attention is called by our Consul at Rotterdam to the threatened sale and destruction of the historic Pilgrim church at Delfshaven through the poverty of the congregation worshipping in it.

There has recently been dedicated at the Point of Penmarc'h, in Brittany—the scene of many shipwrecks—the "Lighthouse of Eckmühl," erected in memory of Marshal Davout, Prince of Eckmühl, by his daughter, the Marchioness of Blocqueville. In her will, providing for this memorial, she says: "My first and most cherished wish is that there may be erected a lighthouse upon some dangerous point on the coast of France. . . . The tears caused by the calamities of war, which I dread and detest more than ever, will thus be compensated for by the lives saved from the tempest." In an article on the electric light on the coasts of France, in the current number of the *Annales des Ponts et Chaussées*, M. de Joly describes in detail, with plans and illustrations, the special methods employed in this lighthouse. The light is visible sixty-two miles in fine and twenty-four miles in foggy weather, exceeding in brilliancy that of any other lighthouse lamp. The optical apparatus completes a revolution in twenty seconds, and, every five seconds, sends out white flashes lasting a tenth of a second. The building material is Kersanton granite. A bronze statue of Davout is placed inside upon a pedestal of porphyry, on which are inscribed the names of his battles.

Preparations are being made for the celebration of the eightieth birthday of the oldest member of the teaching force in the University of Berlin, the Academician and geographer, Henry Kiepert. The event will occur on the 18th of August this year. The veteran savant is still hale and hearty, and, during the past winter term, delivered a course of lectures, gratis, on the "History of Cartography," making use of the excellent collection of geographical apparatus possessed by himself and the University. Kiepert has all along been a man of remarkable vitality. When in his seventieth year he spent several months in geographical researches in Asia Minor, riding from nine to ten hours over a rough country every day.

On the occasion of his recent birthday anniversary, the well-known littérateur, Heinrich von Pochinger, who has published several works on the career of the Iron Chancellor, issued a new volume of Bismarckiana, entitled 'Bismarck-Portefeuille,' aiming particularly at a reproduction of the exact speeches and addresses of Bismarck at the most important stages in his life. In this feature lies the strength of the new work. It seems, however, that the author has been giving the Chancellor greater credit than those in authority are willing to allow. Accordingly, by a formal imperial decree, it has been announced that Pochinger is no longer to have access to the royal or other state archives of Prussia for the purpose of continuing his researches. It is generally understood that this step has been taken at the instigation of the Emperor himself, who failed to find in the new work a sufficient recognition of the merits of his grandfather.

—In view of the small attention hitherto given in our colleges to the subject, Dr. W. B. Cairns's pamphlet 'On the Development of American Literature from 1815 to 1833' would be welcome, even if its merits were less than they are. It is published by the University of Wisconsin, and was prepared, we suppose, as a thesis, but it is remarkably free from sophomoric gush, from absurd misinformation, and from excessive appreciation of local authors and enterprises. A citizen of the Northwest has, in fact, the impartiality of a foreigner in writing the history of this period, for which, having in mind Mr. Albert Smyth's preposterous book on early Philadelphia magazines, we ought to be doubly thankful. It was a barren period in our literary history, being, indeed, the darkness which preceded the dawn of a time illumined by nearly all the lights of our literature, who shone through the medium of magazines vastly superior to most of the ill-starred attempts whose brief existence is chronicled by Dr. Cairns. It was through the *Knickerbocker* (1833), *Southern Literary Messenger* (1834), *Democratic Review* (1837), *Dial* (1840), *Graham's Magazine* (1841), and *Whig Review* (1845) that Hawthorne and Poe, Longfellow and Lowell, Emerson and Parkman, Holmes and Thoreau, became national as distinguished from local authors. Strangely enough, N. P. Willis, the "king of magazinists" of this later period, is not mentioned; nor is his magazine, the *American Monthly*, though it began publication in 1829, even listed in the bibliographies appended to the present work. Slips are infrequent; hence, so bad a one as Edward Coote Pinckney, for Edward Coate Pinkney, causes surprise.

—Under the title, 'Forty Years of Oratory,' the Bowen-Merrill Co. (Indianapolis) publishes in two volumes the Lectures, Addresses, and Speeches of Daniel Wolsey Voorhees. The book, which is compiled and edited by Mr. Voorhees's three sons and his daughter, Harriet Cecilia Voorhees, and has numerous illustrations, including four portraits of Mr. Voorhees, is preceded by a sketch of his life by Judge Thomas B. Long of Indiana. Those who like to trace political distinction to its beginnings in early education and circumstances will find scanty material here, as the barest skeleton of a biography is given. Mr. Voorhees was trained to the bar at a time when forensic success as naturally led to political honors as pecuniary advantages procure them now. Born in 1827, he was admitted to the bar just as the period of Webster and Choate was coming to its close. Through the war, and down to the year 1897, when he died, he preserved a certain tradition of rural Democratic oratory and debate, and his speeches, lectures, and addresses enable us to trace the path of the party through the singular vicissitudes of the past forty years. His first public appearance of importance, however, was, curiously enough, as counsel for Cook, one of John Brown's lieutenants, indicted in 1859 for treason, murder, and inciting slaves to rebel, at Harper's Ferry. Mr. Voorhees, whose line of defence was to make out his client the misguided victim of a stronger will and brain, seems to have helped Cook but little, as he was convicted of murder and hanged. A more successful case was the comparatively recent one of Kilbourne vs. Thompson, in which he secured, in an action for false imprisonment, a verdict for $150,000, which was, however, set aside by the court, on the ground that it was due rather to Mr. Voorhees's eloquence than to the facts or law. As the amount ultimately recovered was $20,000, the difference between this and the larger sum furnishes a sort of measure of Mr. Voorhees's effect on a jury at his best. He undoubtedly did make a considerable impression upon minds of an inferior order, and his ascendancy in party councils rose as his party tended more and more to become a disorganized rabble. Silver he swallowed, but, adhering to the liberal economical views taught him by an earlier generation, he ended his days stoutly defending freedom of trade. His oratory has a peculiarly early American flavor—in fact, could not have been produced in any other country. There is a gravity about it almost Indian, a solemn introduction of learning that suggests a half-educated audience, and an elaborate mingling of courtesy with abuse which (as when he deplores the willingness of Mr. Blaine to "abandon the pursuits of the lion, and to follow the habits of the hyena") are sometimes ludicrous. His oratory deserves preservation as of a type familiar in its day but now passing. Dickens caricatured it, after his first visit to this country, and, returning a generation later, found that it had come to seem a caricature in the land of its origin too.

—We have already called attention in these columns to the growth of interest in German literature which the French, after a period of apathy or aversion, have once more begun to manifest. The magazines and the publishers' lists bear almost monthly witness to this fact. In the *Revue de Paris* Michel Bréal is making a study of the historical original of Goethe's "Natürliche Tochter," under the title. "Une Héroïne de

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Goethe." Édouard Rod's "Essai sur Goethe" has elicited much serious comment, and M. Rod himself, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, is full of praise for Sudermann's "Johannes." And yet the time now seems very remote when German literature was a vital influence and more than merely a subject for scholarly investigation. But that time was, and a writer in the *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France* has recently made a study of "Les Origines de l'Influence Allemande dans la Littérature Française du xix. siècle." This influence was strongest during the early thirties of the present century. To many it will be a surprise to learn that the productions of the eccentric and versatile E. T. W. Hoffmann bore better fruit in France than in his native land. It was he who inspired Musset's "Contes," and Musset's type of the German maiden was taken from him. Like Heine, Hoffmann found, not only in France, but in England also, a wide circle of readers, and numerous translations attest his popularity. "The Golden Pot," which Hoffmann wrote while the bullets were whistling about him at the siege of Drésden, found a place in Carlyle's collection of German romance. Within a year or two, under the title of 'Weird Tales,' J. T. Bealby has published, with the imprint of Charles Scribner's Sons, a new translation of twelve stories of Hoffmann's. As a whole, in spite of occasional infelicitous phrases, this version, so far as it goes, ranks among the best, although the omission of the inimitable "Nutcracker," for instance, in favor of less happy ventures, is to be regretted. The biographical notice appended to the second volume deserves praise. But for English readers who desire to acquaint themselves more fully with the writings of Hoffmann, the volume in the Bohn Library, under the author's own collective title of 'The Serapion Brethren,' remains the standard work.

—Hoffmann is still worth reading. Despite his somnambulism and madness, he was, says Prof. Francke, "a master of realistic description and psychological analysis." The Bohn version is by Major Alexander Ewing, who also translated Jean Paul's 'Flower, Fruit, and Thorn Pieces.' Between Richter and Hoffmann there was a certain affinity of fancy, though not of character or moral depth. In Hawthorne, too, there is a flavor of Hoffmann; but the closest analogue is Poe. The phantasms and extravagances of a wayward imagination, combined in Hoffmann's case with uncontrolled mannerisms, often destroyed the beauty of his finest flights of fancy. He, like Poe, lacked poise. He was averse to taking things seriously. "These are odiosa," was a self-defensive formula of his. Of a piece with this lack of seriousness was his irresistible talent for caricature, the indulgence of which once almost wrecked his career. He subsequently turned his plastic talent to account, and, by painting portraits, eked out his scanty income. The present generation has almost forgotten the extent of Hoffmann's versatility, but he was also a musician of no mean ability. His compositions were praised by Weber, and his musical setting to Fouqué's "Undine" was produced at the Berlin Opera-house. It was his admiration for Mozart, of whose "Don Giovanni" he wrote an analysis which is still a classic bit of musical criticism, that led him to change his third name of Wilhelm to Amadeus; indeed, it is as E. T. A. Hoffmann that he is generally known. But only his literary fame carried beyond the borders of Germany, and it was beyond those boundaries that his work was destined to exert its fullest influence. He occupies a place in literature which we should not gladly see vacant, and yet, from the point of view of this end of our century, his influence upon French letters, and his wide popularity both in England and on the Continent, seem to constitute one of the curiosities of literature. That influence, however, is an undeniable fact in the history of the early days of Romanticism in France, and it is to facts like these that French writers are now directing the attention of their countrymen.

—'De Patriottentijd' (The Era of the "Patriots") is the title of an interesting Dutch work by Dr. H. T. Colenbrander, just issued at The Hague (Martinus Nijhoff). It covers the decade 1776-1786, and throws many interesting side-lights upon British and American history. The author, in common with all students who have long awaited impatiently the still delayed publication of Sir Joseph Yorke's official papers, suffers in the first half of his story from imperfect information where exact knowledge is most desired. Yorke, an army officer promoted to the diplomatic service, was for twenty-five years British Minister at The Hague, and had manipulated Dutch politics until, from Stadholder to city councilmen, he thought he had the money-loving Hollanders wholly pro-British. In his plans he was foiled by Van der Capellen, Luzac, Coelkens, the Van Berkels, De Gijselaer, and others. The recognition of John Adams by the States-General and of the United States by the Dutch republic, accompanied by a loan which, when paid, amounted to fourteen million dollars, showed that the Dutch loved freedom as well as money. Apart from its direct historical value, this work shows in a very clear way how avarice and war go together. The Dutchmen wanted more trade and larger profits when they defied Great Britain, while the motive of the indecent haste of the latter in declaring war is manifest at a glance. Before the Government at The Hague knew anything of hostilities, the seizure of Dutch ships in British ports had begun. Within a month, nearly two hundred vessels with their cargoes, worth nearly six millions of dollars, were confiscated in British ports, and the seizure of ships, lands, islands, and harbors continued for years. The student of federal government cannot afford to ignore this book, which shows what terrible, and in this case mortal, diseases may ravage the federal body politic. It is evident that our constitutional fathers in 1787 had before them not only a living, but an awful and moribund example, from which to learn what to keep and what to reject in federalism.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

Drake and the Tudor Navy. With a History of the Rise of England as a Maritime Power. By Julian S. Corbett. 2 vols. Longmans, Green & Co. 1898.

This work is naturally divided into two volumes, the first devoted to the career of Drake as adventurer and corsair; the second dealing with his later years, when he became distinguished as admiral and naval commander. Besides the usual manuscripts which cover the time of Drake, and publications like the Navy Records, or like those of the Hakluyt and Camden Societies and the works of Capt. Duro, the author has had the advantage of consulting transcripts of various unpublished Spanish documents which Capt. Duro has recently discovered and calendared. As a result, Mr. Corbett, with his previously published short life of Drake as a nucleus, has produced an historical work of much value and interest and possessing a freshness and fulness of detail never before reached.

Froude, in his works on the Spanish Armada and the contemporaneous English seamen of the sixteenth century, identifies the beginning of the ocean supremacy of the English with the defeat of the Great Armada in 1588, and would make that supremacy the legitimate child of the Reformation. More correct, it is to be hoped, in his generalities than in his details, Froude in this instance is not far from wrong, for with the advent of Sir Francis Drake as a sea-fighter Britannia took her first steps towards ruling the wave. Admiral Colomb, the best English authority upon the subject, says that the real opening of the new phase was the fight of Sir John Hawkins against the Spaniards, in the treacherous attack at San Juan de Ulloa in 1567—a fight in which Drake made his earliest appearance in real warfare, as a youngster of twenty-two, in command of the ship *Judith* of fifty tons.

Drake was born upon a farm in Devonshire about the year 1545. Related to Sir John Hawkins, and with a father who probably began life as a seaman, and became in time lay reader to seamen and a clergyman of the Anglican Church, Drake may truly be said to have come into the world with the English Reformation and revolt against Rome. It was not unnatural, as a consequence, that he should inherit his father's tastes and feelings, and that his life should be spent upon the sea and in constant antagonism to his most Catholic Majesty the King of Spain. Apprenticed as he was by his father, in the rough school of the English coasting trade, Drake received excellent training for his future life, and showed such promise that his master bequeathed to Drake his bark. From that small beginning his fortunes arose. With the reign of Queen Elizabeth began the period of reprisals, seizures, and quasi-war against Spanish trade and dominions. The causes, besides those of retaliation, were held to be three-fold. For the English people it was religious, for the Government it was political, and for the merchants it was in addition commercial. The idea dawning upon the English was the one asserted so strenuously by Sir Walter Raleigh, that "whosoever commands the sea, commands the trade; whosoever commands the trade of the world, commands the riches of the world, and consequently the world itself."

Drake, tiring of the coasting life, made cruises to the Western Islands and to the West Indies, and eventually joined his kinsman, Sir John Hawkins, in the expedition which met attack and disaster near Vera Cruz in Mexico in 1567. His bark and the *Minion* were the only survivors of this expedition when Hawkins returned afterwards to England. Drake's other expeditions to the West Indies and Spanish Main it is not necessary to dwell upon, as they are sufficiently well known and were partly in the nature of reprisals against the Spanish and partly adventures in a commercial sense; in both aspects the spoliation of the Spaniard

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was congenial work. His landing and adventures at Nombre de Dios and on the Isthmus of Panama led to his first view of the Pacific, and inspired his famous cruise of circumnavigation, which lifted him to the higher plane of accomplished navigator and matured leader of men.

Fascinating as the story of Drake's voyage around the world has always been, it is none the less so with the fuller details and additional side lights published by the author in this work. The discovery of the open sea to the southward of Tierra del Fuego; the Doughty affair; the cruise along the Pacific Coast of America, and the stay in California, lose nothing in interest when told by the light of later discoveries and recent investigations. Though Drake had been obscurely heard of through Spanish sources during this voyage, it was not until September, 1580, after an absence of nearly three years, without a word of news from home, that the *Golden Hind*, richly laden with treasure, ended her voyage in Plymouth Sound. Knighted on board this ship by the Queen, Drake became the hero of the day and the great sea officer of the kingdom. After Drake's return he was put on the commission to examine the state of the navy, and thus had an opportunity to become more familiar with the weapon which he was in the future to handle so efficiently. With the acquisition of Portugal by Philip II., Spain fell heir to a fine seagoing fleet of eleven galleons, and had for the first time the nucleus of a regular navy. This nucleus, with the additional vessels constructed on the Biscayan coast, gave the Marquis of Santa Cruz, the great Admiral of Spain, reason to think the "enterprise of England," as the Great Armada's object was called in Spain, a practical affair. The prestige gained by Santa Cruz in 1583, in the defeat of the French privateers and the capture of the Azores, strengthened Philip's determination and Santa Cruz's confidence.

In England the rising danger of the Armada became apparent to everybody except possibly at first to the Queen. However, when Spain, for the purposes of the Armada, seized the English corn-fleet, Drake was directed at once to sail with a fleet to rescue the seized vessels and make reprisal. The expedition was formed in the way that was then customary, a fleet of merchantmen being stiffened, as the author says, by some ships from the Royal Navy and financed by a joint-stock company. Leaving in the autumn of 1585, he raided Vigo, touched without landing at the Canaries, and, following the usual course to the Cape de Verdes, destroyed the two principal towns of the latter group. Proceeding to the West Indies, he captured San Domingo, the capital of the Spanish West Indies, and also Cartagena on the Spanish Main. Without instructions or certainty of a continuous policy on the part of the Queen, he was wise not to hold either place with the rapidly diminishing forces under his command. For the latter cause, also, he made no attempt upon Panama, but, after burning St. Augustine, and taking on board the English colony left on Roanoke Island, returned to England, having inflicted on Spain a loss in resources and prestige that postponed the Armada as well as avenged the seizure of the corn fleet.

But Drake's most brilliant campaign was yet to come. Under orders from the Queen to prevent the concentration of the various squadrons and detachments under Santa Cruz at Lisbon, he was further to cause "the distressing of the ships within the havens themselves." Sailing on the 1st of April, 1587, and learning at sea that ships and stores were accumulating at Cadiz, he proceeded at once to that port. The defences of Cadiz at the time were not formidable, but the shoals of the harbor added much to the difficulties of the attack, and afforded opportunity for the swift, light-draught galleys—whose rôle was that of the torpedo-boat of our day—to develop their possibilities. Standing in at once upon sighting the port, he saw inside, under the guns of the town and the batteries, some sixty ships and a crowd of caravals and small barks, almost all of which were engaged in some way in connection with the great enterprise against England. As Drake entered, the galleys made a dash at the beam of his vessels, but they were met with heavy raking broadsides from the Queen's ships that led in, which riddled them so that they turned and fled, seeking refuge behind reefs and up the estuaries near by. By nightfall all the vessels not able to get into the inner harbor were in Drake's hands and afterwards burned. Remaining undisturbed during the night at anchor, the next morning Drake raided the inner harbor by a boat expedition. The wind falling away to a calm, Drake became exposed to a galley attack under disadvantageous circumstances; but neither this, nor the newly mounted guns on shore, nor the fireships sent out, dislodged him, and it was not until the following morning that he left with little loss, but with the beard of the King of Spain effectually singed.

It remained yet for Drake to prevent the concentration at Lisbon. A detachment of vessels under Recalde were at Cape St. Vincent; these were forced to take refuge in Lisbon, their leader being too wary to be caught. Their retreat gave Drake an opportunity which he seized by a sudden attack on and capture of the fortifications commanding the anchorage at Cape St. Vincent, then the most important and most frequented roadstead and watering-place on the Atlantic coast of Europe. He thus secured a sheltered position for his intervening fleet, well placed between Lisbon and the Mediterranean; a point whose strategic importance continued to later days. Upon reconnoissance, Lisbon was found too strong for attack, and Drake returned to his rendezvous off St. Vincent, and sent home for reinforcements so that he might hold his chosen position. Philip, alarmed at the situation, issued a series of contradictory orders, directing Santa Cruz to go to sea, and finally abandoning vessels and sending their crews overland to Lisbon. Reduced in force by bad weather met at sea and by the desertion of some of his fleet, Drake could not hold his position and also proceed to the Azores as directed. Tempted by the news of a returning East Indiaman, he finally proceeded to the Azores, and captured the richly laden *San Felipe*, with which he returned once more to Plymouth, with a prize and a reputation unsurpassed in Europe. What Drake might have accomplished if he had been at the head of a purely military expedition with no commercial obligations may well be imagined, for the author is within bounds when he says that, to this day, this cruise of Drake's presents the finest example of how a small, well-handled fleet, acting on a nicely timed offensive, may paralyze the mobilization of an overwhelming force.

After reaching England, Drake was anxious to return and renew his operations on the coast of Spain, but England was reluctant and vacillating, and, as a result, the concentration went on at Lisbon unimpeded. A defensive fleet was formed, but was retained on the English coast—a strategic mistake which Drake protested against, for the defensive line then as now was the enemy's coasts. Lord Howard of Effingham was made Commander-in-Chief of the naval forces to meet the Armada, and Drake given the command of an independent fleet, which, upon the news of Santa Cruz's death, was united with that of Howard, Drake being made Vice-Admiral, second in command, and practically the professional commander of the fleet.

The various stages of the drama of the Great Armada followed—its first sailing under Medina Sidonia, its return and second departure, the indecisive engagements off Plymouth, Portland Head, and the Isle of Wight; its gradual crowding off shore and to the eastward, the attack of the fire-ships off Calais, and the final action off Gravelines, followed by the retreat to the north of Scotland, and finally the dispersion and scattered return to Spain. In all of the actions Drake played a part, varying in importance, but still strategically and technically that of the leader of the defensive fleet. Of Effingham and his part, the author, who maintains Howard to have been a Protestant, says:

"From first to last he set an example of untiring labor, of loyal devotion, and of buoyant courage, that is hardly to be surpassed, and which entirely won the respect of his headstrong and self-confident Vice-Admiral. If the times demanded a high-born amateur at the head of our navy, let no one forget what happened to other fleets similarly commanded, or ever cease to be gratified that at this great crisis the man chosen for the post was Lord Howard. His splendid behavior made the whole fleet one. Whatever was done, was done with all the might of the force. If Drake had been supreme head, the campaign might have been more scientific in design, more dashing in execution, but its success must have been thwarted by the jealousies and friction his masterful spirit seemed incapable of avoiding."

With the command of the sea given to the English by the defeat of the Armada, naturally came the desire to destroy what was left of the Spanish fleet, and to this was added an endeavor to establish Don Antonio, the Portuguese Pretender, and to capture one of the Western Islands as an advanced base against the Spanish trade. The expedition placed under Drake had Sir John Norreys as military commander. The land force seems to have been out of proportion to its objectives; too much for a raid, it was too small for serious operations against Lisbon. Probably undue reliance was placed upon Don Antonio's hope for a general rising of the Portuguese. Hampered by the instructions of the Queen and the political purposes of Don Antonio, the expedition fell far short of the success aimed at and hoped for, and Drake was in disgrace with the Queen and her advisers for a long period.

In 1595, however, the Queen appointed him joint commander with Sir John Hawkins of an expedition to the West Indies. This proved to be the last as well as the most disastrous with which he was ever connected. To the evils of a joint command were added those of inadequate force, and again interminable delays. The Spanish were not only better prepared ashore and afloat than ever before, but the delays at

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Plymouth, the unwise attempts upon the Canaries, and the capture of men and a ship while en route, made known their objectives and their course and gave ample time for preparation. The failure at Porto Rico was almost contemporaneous with the death of Sir John Hawkins, and the barren ravaging on the Spanish Main and the repulse on the Isthmus of Panama were followed by the death of Drake himself, and his subsequent burial at sea near the scene of his earliest triumphs.

The limitations of Drake, both in person and in surroundings, were too great to permit us to consider him exactly in the same light as Nelson; but the words of the author which follow, seem to us an accurate summing up of his attributes as a naval leader:

"It was in the very nature of Drake," says Mr. Corbett, "that, so long as his nominal commander would consent to be a figurehead and his council of war a mere court to record his opinions, he could command with brilliant success. But such a position he would never have been allowed and could not possibly have achieved in the Cadiz expedition of 1596. The Elizabethan age, high as it rose beyond all that had gone before, yet lacked the greatness of spirit that could recognize and trust implicitly a heaven-born admiral as a riper age could trust Nelson. So it came about that he was denied the opportunity of proving the tremendous force of his ideas, and he passed to posterity, as the narrow view of his contemporaries could see him, with a renown, it is true, so great as to become at once almost mythical, yet not for what he was."

The style of the narrative is most interesting, and the book is provided with plans and illustrations, particularly of the vessels of the time. The accuracy of the text is well sustained in the appendices and the many notes and references. It is to be regretted that the long and somewhat pedantic descriptions of the ships and guns of the Tudor age were not also relegated to the appendices.

REDDAWAY'S MONROE DOCTRINE.

The Monroe Doctrine. By W. F. Reddaway. Macmillan. 1898.

Mr. Reddaway's examination of the Monroe Doctrine was written originally in 1896 in competition for the Members' Prize at Cambridge. Coming here from an English university, it will be read with interest by Americans as both a distinctively English and at the same time impartial contribution to the learning of the subject. It differs from most writing about the Monroe Doctrine in one important point, namely, that it is not argumentative or contentious, but altogether analytical and historical in its treatment. The author seems to have drawn upon all the leading recognized American sources of information, and also upon a mass of unpublished documents in the Public Record Office, with the result that he has produced an essay which no writer can hereafter afford to neglect. His conclusions are that the evolution of the Monroe Doctrine was gradual; that the peculiar form of the message of 1823 was due to John Quincy Adams; that he, and he alone, logically applied it in politics; that it produced its desired effect as an act of policy, but in no way modified the Law of Nations; and, further, that the Monroe Doctrine of current politics seems to have become rather an "Adams sentiment," very different, however, from anything that Adams as a statesman of two generations since can be said to have expressly advocated. His view of the part played by Adams in the production and publication of the Doctrine is not different from that taken by Mr. J. T. Morse, jr., in his biography of Adams, published some years since.

The Monroe Doctrine, as generally cited by American publicists, consists of two propositions: that "the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European Powers," and that "we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." . . . "With the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European Power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States." Historically it was intended to bolster up the newly acquired freedom of Spanish America (a valuable appendix gives an account of the political condition of America south of the United States in 1823), and was suggested by Canning and formulated by Adams and Monroe. The attempt to make it a permanent doctrine of international law is futile, because a rule of international law derives its force from the consent and practice of a number of nations, while the Monroe Doctrine expresses the policy of one, and can be modified or even recalled by that one at its pleasure. Like the Balance of Power, which, until it was superseded by other arrangements, ending in the so-called Concert of Europe, played such an important part in European diplomacy, it belongs to a domain quite outside the confines of international law, though within those of government. In obedience to our national instincts, we like to call it a "doctrine," and in this there is no harm, provided we remember that it is not recognized by international publicists, that it embodies no rule, has never been stated as one by any law-making body, and contains a clause, "with the existing colonies or dependencies of any European Power we . . . shall not interfere," which, at the present time, we are refusing in a very emphatic manner to regard as binding upon ourselves.

It follows from all this that the endeavor to bring such matters as the dispute about the Venezuela boundary, or the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, or many other matters alien to the historical ground of the policy within the scope of the Doctrine, is never likely to advance the position (whatever it may be) taken by the United States or have much bearing on subsequent disputes. The European Power with whom the dispute arises will always say: "The fact that you can make a doctrine of your own domestic policy apply, by your own principles of hermeneutics, to a given case affecting our interests is of no moment to us. We may withdraw our opposition and let you have your way, but no precedent has been established." That the flag covers the cargo, that privateering is and remains abolished, or that a blockade to be binding must be effective, are examples of rules of actual or potential international law; but a "doctrine" of a single nation cannot be a rule of law. If it could, the United States would stand to the world at large as Rome once stood; and while Rome lasted, international law had no existence.

These considerations do not belittle the importance of the Monroe Doctrine, but show perhaps some of the reasons why it should be studied, not doctrinally or legally, but historically. It is a part of our history, and not a part of our law; moreover, we think that no one can read Mr. Reddaway's book without coming to the conclusion that it is at least doubtful whether in the future "Monroeism" will not tend more and more to be curbed by other tendencies in our policy and by the law of nations itself. That we succeeded in the Venezuela case in getting England to arbitrate her Guiana boundary, should not blind us to the fact that we ourselves admitted in the course of the controversy that a voluntary settlement between Venezuela and England would be binding on us; *i. e.*, that the parties to the controversy might by agreement preclude us from applying the Doctrine to them—a necessary but rather dangerous concession; while in the Clayton-Bulwer dispute we have never yet induced England to take our view that the Doctrine has any application whatever.

There is no way so sure to clear up the mists and fogs which surround the whole subject as to study it historically. As Mr. Reddaway shows, the history of its proclamation is an integral part of the history of the modern world, and it was closely connected with the development of those peculiar ideas relating to government which have done so much to further the advance of democracy. As he shows, also, it was simply the announcement of a policy of support for the newly won freedom of Spanish America against the Holy Alliance and European reaction, and so played its part and accomplished its purpose at the time. Its use towards the end of the nineteenth century to cover any "continental" design of the party in power that may happen to come up, tends to great confusion of thought, and should be discountenanced by American statesmen and publicists. Ever since Canning's splendid boast in 1826 that he had "called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old, an atmosphere of sentiment, rhetoric, and rhodomontade has hovered about the Doctrine which it is high time that the *siccum lumen* of historical investigation should finally and for ever dispel.

One circumstance Mr. Reddaway points out which is very important, and which, for the sake of brevity, we will put in our own words—that the Monroe Doctrine was in a measure a product of a separation between Europe and America which has ceased to exist. Down to the introduction of steam and the telegraph we were remote, in fact; to-day we are nearer to London or Paris than we are to Lima or Rio, and, it may be added, the whole world tends more and more to homogeneity of civilization. These facts make a separate and isolated policy every year more and more difficult to pursue, and bring us with time nearer to a point at which the general rules of civilized intercourse between states may become the only rules to which any single nation can afford to appeal. This does not mean that war or intervention will come to an end, but that the attempt to erect an American as opposed to a European system will fail whenever it

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comes in conflict with those wider interests of mankind which have brought the ends of the earth together. It is intercourse, not geography, which determines the rules prevailing between nations.

LIDDON'S PUSEY.

Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey, D.D. By Henry Parry Liddon, D.D. Edited and prepared for publication by the Rev. J. O. Johnston, M.A.; the Rev. Robert J. Wilson, D.D., and the Rev. W. C. E. Newbolt, M.A. In four volumes. Volume IV. (1860-1882). With portrait and illustrations. Longmans, Green & Co.

The Life of Dr. Pusey is now finished, and, although the editors of the present volume complain that they have been obliged to omit things necessary to the completeness of their story, it will seem to many that a more limited presentation of the subject, rather than a fuller one, would better have subserved the object which they had in view. Dr. Liddon, by whom the biography was conceived and upon whose chosen lines it has been carried out, contributed nothing to this volume except the long account of Dr. Pusey's last days and death. Viewing Dr. Pusey's whole life as related to the Oxford Movement, Dr. Liddon devoted a volume to "The Preparation," a second to "The Movement," a third to "The Struggle," and a fourth and last to "The Victory." The present editors believe the title of this volume to be justified by the fact that "the Archbishops of England, in addressing 'the whole body of Bishops of the Catholic Church,' are able to assume, as part of the undisputed heritage of the English Church, such doctrines as the Apostolical Succession and the Sacrificial Aspect of the Holy Eucharist, which, fifty years ago, were generally branded with the discredit that belonged to the hated word Tractarian." It is undeniable that the English Church has been tending, like the Roman, to work out the logic of its system in its doctrines and ceremonies, but this tendency has been qualified by circumstances of very real importance; for one, the critical development which affords the spectacle of High Churchmen openly teaching the revolutionary opinions of Kuenen and Wellhausen; for another, the toleration of theological doctrines which were abominable to Pusey and his school. What is claimed as a victory for that school is rather to be regarded as a *modus vivendi*, about equally favorable to it and to its most radical opponents. Moreover, in so far as the Puseyite doctrines and forms have tended to a wider acceptance and observation, it is worth while to consider to what extent they have carried along with them the nation's best intelligence. A victory alienating this is only nominally different from a ruinous defeat.

There is plenty of "Struggle" in this volume, also, however it is named. We plunge at once into the long battle for the increase of Jowett's salary, a battle in which Pusey was as conspicuously the leader on one side as Stanley on the other. The story of this battle is the more interesting from the Pusey side because we have so recently had it from the other in the Life of Jowett. It is evident that Jowett did not overrate the extent of Pusey's influence in the matter. It was he who stirred up the University prosecution of Jowett on the ground of his heretical opinions in his commentary on Romans and in the 'Essays and Reviews.' The saintly Keble contributed £100 towards the expenses of the prosecution, which signally failed of putting Jowett in the wrong, and, after six years of controversy, Stanley completely won the victory for his friend, for whom he had fought so long. It should be said, in justice to Pusey, that at any time he would have been glad to see Jowett's salary increased if it could have been done without seeming to endorse his heresies, and marvellous was the ingenuity with which he strove to realize such an adjustment of the matter. When his biographers beg us to remember that since 1860 Oxford has "laid aside its old religious character," we have another item helping us to measure the reality of that "victory" which they would fain imagine was coincident with the last years of Pusey's life.

The most pathetic incident in the course of the events depicted in this volume is the meeting of Newman, Pusey, and Keble, at Keble's rectory in Hursley in 1866, a few months before Keble's death—an event which left Pusey feeling very much alone. Yet he was intimate with Newman to a degree that will be surprising to many English churchmen, and that would have made his life very uncomfortable at the time had the secret been divulged. They agreed in heartily disliking Manning and Ward and their set, Newman calling them incubi. But a less ardent resolve than Pusey's to unite the Anglican and Roman churches would have been chilled by Newman's icy manner of meeting the overtures of his friend. The pound of flesh would not do: there must be the blood with it. It is true that the indifference and arrogance of Newman were impersonal, that of the church for which he spoke. Pusey was given to understand that he could not expect a hearing with his eirenica if he did not come bringing his sheaves with him—the English bishops and clergy in a body. And so, like the poor fellow at Whitefield's camp-meeting, he "rolled himself in the dirt for nothing." His gracious overtures were received by the Manning set as a declaration of war, and even Newman wrote him, "You discharge your olive branch as if from a catapult." Pusey lacked nothing that was taught by Rome *de fide* of being a thoroughgoing Romanist before the declaration of infallibility, and this volume makes it appear likely that but for that declaration he would have gone over to Rome if the debate over the Athanasian creed had gone a little more against him. Newman wrote him of the Manning set, "They came to the Church and have thereby saved their souls; but they are in no sense spokesmen of the English Catholics." Nevertheless, when the Vatican Council met, he found them accepted as such at Rome and able to impose their dogma on the Church. It was most refreshing to Pusey and Keble to find that the Romanists had their differences as well as the Anglicans.

The nomination of Dr. Temple, the present Archbishop, to the See of Exeter obliged Pusey to throw Gladstone over after a friendship of thirty years' duration. "The Westminster Scandal," as Pusey designated the invitation of a Unitarian scholar to take part in the revision of the King James translation of the Bible and attend a communion service in Westminster Abbey, was another dreadful shock to Pusey's sensibility, and the wife's-sister marriage bill was another. In fact, he was being continually rubbed the wrong way. When the Athanasian creed was under fire, he threatened to withdraw from all his functions if worst came to worst. His general indifference to ritualism, and the trouble he had with it, comment amusingly on the popular identification of ritualism with Puseyism. When Manning put Newman in the attitude of refusing the Cardinalate, Pusey was so unfortunate as to fall into the trap and write Newman, "I thought in my inward heart that your place would be higher in heaven for declining all on earth." That was one of the things one would wish not to have said, but it could not be recalled.

During the last years of his life, Pusey's constancy to his ideals, together with many amiable and endearing personal traits, insured him wide consideration even from those who most deplored his influence on the English Church. An appendix of some 40 pages detailing his printed books and papers testifies to the enormous industry of a man to whom every comfort and luxury was assured should he not lift his hand. It is perhaps too soon to pass a final judgment on his life. It is certain that he did much to detach the Anglican body from the Protestant movement, and to make it substantially identical in its doctrines and its sacraments with the Roman Catholic Church.

The Household of the Lafayettes. By Edith Sichel. London: Archibald Constable & Co. 1897.

Miss Sichel writes with some knowledge of the Lafayette and De Noailles families, but our praise of her excursions into the history of revolutionary France must be slight. Her style is one of tropical luxuriance, and her judgments, whether of men or events, are far from being uniformly sound. The Marquis de Lafayette, by virtue of his share in great events, belongs to the public even more than he does to his family. For instance, on his first visit to America he left his wife, though she was hardly more than a bride, in order that he might follow his spiritual betrothed, Liberty. Miss Sichel is much more at her ease in describing the scenes of the hearth than those which are enacted on the stage of the world. We shall not enter upon her account of Lafayette, the statesman and soldier, because she does not help us forward at these points. The domestic part of her narrative is the best, and, in briefly commenting upon it, we shall take for a central figure Lafayette's remarkable wife, Adrienne de Noailles.

Miss Sichel finds in Adrienne's mother, the Duchesse d'Ayen, a personality which moulded children and grandchildren. Almost all the members of the De Noailles connection are celebrated for their respectability and clean living amid the temptations of Louis XV.'s court. The Duchesse d'Ayen, a descendant of the Chancellor d'Aguesseau, even raised the tone of her husband's family, and, by patiently training her children in manners and morals, prepared them for the agonies they were forced to suffer during the Revolution. Adrienne's love of her husband was spontaneous, and rose above selfishness whenever it came to a question between private content and public duty. She entered into the American project, and was a party to his plans for eluding court and family espionage when he sought to

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leave the country. What separation cost her may be judged by her happiness in Lafayette's presence after his final return. Though little given to theatrical posing, "the vehemence of her feeling was so great that, for many months, she used almost to faint whenever he left the room." The Revolution found her ready for the worst that can come in life, and she was given a chance to prove her character after Lafayette's flight. During the three years between his arrest and 1795, she only heard from him once. She was seized as a suspect in the autumn of 1793, confined in a provincial prison till the following May, and then transferred to La Petite Force. Confiscation had brought her to distress. In the Great Terror she lost grandmother, mother, and sister at one blow. Robespierre's fall saved her life, but by doing so left her with new difficulties to master. She had to keep her children above penury and to secure her husband's release. By dint of equal devotion and activity, she found some money, made her way to Vienna, and secured imperial permission to live at Olmütz. She entered the town with the Song of Tobit on her lips, and made captivity a very different thing for Lafayette. She remained close at hand till his freedom was achieved by the peace of Campo Formio. We can only pause to mention one touch of character. She bore illness with fortitude and without the loss of playfulness. Shortly before her death in 1807 she said to Lafayette, "So I have been a pleasant companion to you?" "You have indeed!" "Well, then, bless me." These words were engraved on the gold medallion containing the portrait which Lafayette wore till the end of his days. Miss Sichel's account of their life together is so felicitous that we regret certain other less admirable features to which we must advert.

The inaccuracies of this volume are numerous and glaring. P. 85, Barnave is ranked with Pétion as a Girondist. A little later, p. 94, he is styled Barnavès. P. 98, "Loménie de Brienne, with his scheme for equal taxation, had replaced Necker"—a bad slip to make on the very eve of the States-General. P. 100, enumerating the royalist parliamentary leaders in the reign of Charles I., Miss Sichel gives us "Falkland, Hyde, and Clarendon." P. 106, she proceeds, after quoting Gouverneur Morris's description of the meeting of the States-General: "The Third Estate had a sprinkling of *curés* and men of letters, but consisted chiefly of lawyers." That this statement applies to the original constitution of the Third Estate appears from what is said on the following page. After the oath of the Tennis Court the National Assembly "summoned the clergy to join it—only three of them obeyed." In the sentence immediately preceding this last it is affirmed that Bailly was elected President of the National Assembly on the famous 20th of June, whereas he was chosen on the 17th. The difference of a few days cannot be overlooked in the crowded action of the early Revolution. P. 113, Talleyrand is termed Abbé at a time when he was Bishop of Autun. P. 162, Hébert and Desmoulins are placed on the Committee of Public Safety, to which neither of them ever belonged. P. 137 Pilnitz (*sic*) is placed in Frussia instead of in Saxony. P. 175, "The desertion of Gen. Dumouriez . . . in April, just after his brilliant victories for the Republic, had precipitated matters." Miss Sichel is laboring under a grave misapprehension if she considers Neerwinden a brilliant victory for the Republic. P. 266, at this point Sieyès comes in for a little mention. Miss Sichel is eclectic. On p. 89 she has dubbed him "the mediocre." By the Directory period he has become "the incarnation of effective cleverness." Associated with him are Barras and Carnot, "his fellow-Directors." But Sieyès and Carnot were never "fellow-Directors." P. 269, coming to Napoleon, we find him represented as "fighting with sumptuous chivalry for the deliverance of Egypt from the Turk," a crusading enterprise for which we fear he would not have left France in 1798. Considering his failure in the East, one must also stretch language a good deal to say of him in 1799, "His career since 1797 had been a triumphal procession." P. 296, Miss Sichel concludes a synopsis of the Chouan plot by beheading not only Cadoudal, but Pichegru. Without going into the question of whether he killed himself or was strangled, one may confidently affirm that Pichegru escaped decapitation. P. 340, the Ordinances of St. Cloud are placed at four instead of at five in number.

Several of these mistakes are heinous in themselves, and furthermore they imply that the subject has been written up rather than mastered. We should not have catalogued so many were the tone of the book less cocksure. One is half amused and half annoyed at reading limitless generalizations when they exist side by side with elementary errors of fact.

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus to Himself: An English Translation with Introductory Study on Stoicism and the Last of the Stoics. By Gerald H. Rendall. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1898.

The translation of the 'Meditations' of Marcus Aurelius is an enterprise to which not a few have felt called, but the versions that have appeared have been executed rather for the translator's pleasure than as a *tour de force*, and only one or two have survived in general use. We can think of no classical author of whom a translation is not inevitably a pale parody. For the scholar, the Italian motto, *Traduttore traditore* holds good for Jowett's Plato as for Pope's 'Iliad'—the blackness of the betrayal is a mere question of shade. But there are certain post-classical writers whose Greek has no peculiar and characteristic charms of style that could be obscured in a translation—in whom there are no flowers of poetry whose perfume would vanish if one attempted to distil it. Among these are Plutarch, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius. One cannot help feeling, as one reads the exotic, artificial, laboriously acquired Greek of Marcus Aurelius, that the kindest thing one can do for him is to translate it. It is unreadable. We question whether any scholar who is afflicted with the prejudice for style would prefer the original Greek to an English version. Marcus Aurelius is one of the very few whose appeal, not being literary but moral, not to the intellect but to the soul, rise above the need of "fame's great antiseptic, style."

The 'Meditations' have never been regarded as a work of art. When, in the seventeenth century, Cardinal Barberini translated them, he dedicated the version to his soul, "in order to make it redder than my purple at the sight of the virtues of this Gentile." There you have the spirit of all translators of this *journal intime*. Marcus Aurelius summed up in himself the best and noblest that had ever existed in the pagan world. His feverish struggle for moral perfection, the absolute correspondence of his inner life with his outward profession, the fact that he turned aside from the splendid distractions of the Roman Empire with the self-denial of a monk—these things account for his canonization as a "Classical Dictionary hero," who realized Plato's ideal of the philosopher on the throne. But they do not account for his hold on the sympathies of modern men, for that sort of emotion which invaded Montesquieu as he read. He wins a wide attention partly because he belongs to no faith and no creed. We need no effort of imagination to put ourselves in touch with his philosophy. "La religion de Marc-Aurèle," says Renan, "est la religion absolue. Elle n'est ni d'une race ni d'un pays. Aucune révolution, aucun progrès, aucune découverte, ne pourront la changer." But he wins the sympathy of men because, under the fine flower of stoic calm, they see the signs of a strife that they too envisage daily. *Entbehren sollst du, sollst entbehren!* (ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ ἀπέχεσθαι) is the watchword of the 'Meditations.' Disabused and disenchanted with life from the first, Marcus's preoccupation in the earlier books is to put a good face on it; in the latter he has attained a detachment that would be Nirvana if it were less like resignation. "How is each so lonely in the wide grave of the All?" asked Richter. Marcus Aurelius, steadily putting away the thought of pleasure or of men's praises, stubbornly refusing to sweeten the rim of the cup from which he was to drink the cure for life, never removes himself above one's pity. This is the chief secret of his charm.

The translation by Jeremy Collier (1702), though possibly not the best, was master of the field until the appearance of George Long's version in 1862. Long was justly rebuked by Matthew Arnold for his contemptuous dismissal of Collier as "a most coarse and vulgar copy of the original." Collier had, at least, succeeded in imparting a certain impetuosity and vividness of style which is lacking to the Greek. But Arnold, though he shivered at Long's academic frost, rated his scholarship high, and prophesied that "Jeremy Collier's work will now be forgotten." George Long, too, bode his destined hour. Mr. Rendall, the new Head Master of Charterhouse, taking into account "the level of modern requirement," assumes that Marcus Aurelius has not hitherto been given to English readers "with scholarly precision and in becoming dress." This is not entirely fair to Long's translation. The Greek of Marcus Aurelius is often open to more than one interpretation, and we believe that, in most cases where Long's version differs from Mr. Rendall's, the divergence is accounted for, not by Long's inferior scholarship, but by a defensible difference of taste. Mr. Rendall has frequently achieved a closer verbal literalness. But with a writer so capable of separate insulation as Marcus, literalness is not so indispensable in a translator as vividness and simplicity of style.

Mr. Rendall's phrases are seldom touched with the sombre passion, the indefinable melancholy that one feels in the rugged Greek original. In the matter of style we think that he has little advantage over George Long. In the matter of spirit and style they both suffer by comparison with the frag-

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mentary renderings of Walter Pater. For readers of 'Marius the Epicurean' there can be only one English portrait of Marcus Aurelius, and the bare half-dozen pages of translation in the chapter entitled "The Divinity that doth hedge a King" will ever be the portion of the 'Meditations' most deeply impressed on their minds.

"Penthea and Pergamus sit no longer beside the sepulchre of their lord. The watchers over Hadrian's dust have slipped from his sepulchre. It were jesting to stay longer. Did they sit there still, would the dead feel it? or feeling it, be glad; or glad, hold those watchers for ever? The time must come when they too shall be aged men and aged women, and decease, and fail from their places; and what shift were there then for imperial service? This, too, is but the breath of the tomb and a skinful of dead men's blood."

Mr. Rendall here improved on Long, but not, we think, on Walter Pater:

"Does Pentheia or does Pergamus still sit beside the bier of Verus? Chabrias or Diotimos by Hadrian's? Folly! And suppose they did, would the dead be conscious of it? or if conscious, glad? or if glad, would the mourners live on for ever? Must they not in the order of things first turn into old men and women, and then die? and when they died, what could their lovers do next? All comes to stench and refuse at last."

Or compare the renderings of a still more famous passage:

"To him, indeed, whose wit hath been whetted by true doctrine, that well-worn sentence of Homer sufficeth, to guard him against regret and fear: 'Like the race of leaves the race of man is: the wind in autumn strows the earth with old leaves; then the spring the woods with new endows.' Leaves! little leaves!—thy children, thy flatterers, thine enemies! Leaves in the wind, those who would devote thee to darkness, who scorn or miscall thee here, even as they also whose great fame shall outlast them, . . . and yet wouldst thou love and hate, as if these things should continue for ever."

So Pater. Here at any rate he is quite as literal as Mr. Rendall:

"When once true principles have been bitten in, even the shortest and most trite of precepts serves as a safeguard against the spirit of brooding or fear. For instance:

'As wind-shed leaves on the sod,
Such are the children of men.'

As autumn leaves thy little ones! and as leaves, too, the crowd who shout their heartening plaudits or heap their curses, or in secret cavil and gibe; as leaves, too, even those who will succeed to fame hereafter! . . . and yet you seek or shun as though they would last for ever."

Mr. Rendall's translation is preceded by 146 pages of introduction in the shape of essays on "The Origins of Stoicism," "The Birth of Stoicism," "Stoic Dogma," "Stoicism in History," and finally on the character and personal history of Marcus. This was done by Long also, but on a much less extensive scale. To scholars these introductory pages will probably seem more important as a contribution than the rest of the book. We can hardly suppose that the general reader who is wholly unacquainted with the language of Greek philosophy will find the first four essays interesting. But as an exposition of the Stoic doctrine for the benefit of those who already possess some knowledge of the subjects handled, they are admirable.

Mr. Rendall is not consistent in his presentation of Greek words in these essays. Since they will probably appeal chiefly to those who have a knowledge of Greek, it seems superfluous to transliterate the Greek character; it is a method which always falls of its mark, for the unlearned remains unenlightened and it is a shock to the scholar. In the word "Cynism," which Mr. Rendall uses for the more familiar "Cynicism," we suppose he aims at a literal translation of the Greek κυνισμός. But we see no good grounds for the innovation. If "Cynism," why not "Stoism"? The book is well got up, but the cover seems somewhat too decorative for such austere contents.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

A Scientist's Confession of Faith. Philadelphia: Baptist Publication Society. 10c.
Bacon, Rev. T. S. The First and Great Commandment of God. James Pott & Co. $1.50.
Clarke, Rev. W. N. An Outline of Christian Theology. Scribners. $2.50.
Daudet, Alphonse. The Head of the Family. Putnams. $1.50.
Fairbanks, Arthur. The First Philosophers of Greece. Scribners. $2.
Franklin, Benjamin. Selections from Autobiography, etc. [Little Masterpieces.] Doubleday & McClure Co. 30c.
Garnett, Richard. A History of Italian Literature. Appletons.
Griffis, W. E. The Students' Motley. The Rise of the Dutch Republic. Harpers. $1.75.
Hamblen, H. E. The General Manager's Story. Macmillan.
Hamilton, P. J. Colonial Mobile. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.
Huddilston, J. H. The Attitude of the Greek Tragedians toward Art. Macmillan. $1.25.
Kluge, Prof. F., and Lutz, Prof. F. English Etymology. A Select Glossary. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 60c.
Law, Ernest. The Royal Gallery of Hampton Court. London: Bell; New York: Macmillan.
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Murray, J. A. H. A New English Dictionary. H—Haversian (Vol. V.). Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Henry Frowde.
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